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ABSTRACT

A study comparing the dialects of Ozark and Appalachian English addresses a possible relationship between the two dialects. The study compares selected structures in the two dialects in order to (1) examine similarities and differences, (2) investigate the behavior of a range of ages (10-70+) to determine patterns of change, (3) examine preservation patterns in each in light of increasing pressure to conform to mainstream norms, and (4) compare the two with other non-mainstream varieties as described in the literature. The data consist of tape-recorded speech samples from residents of the two areas. The report begins with an introductory chapter, a chapter on the historical and social context of the two settings, and a chapter on variation and language change. Subsequent chapters examine specific structures, including aspects of the auxiliary, personal datives, a-prefixing, patterns of irregular verb usage, and subject-verb concord. A concluding chapter and a list of references are also included. Appendixes include a list of the subjects in the analytic sample, interview excerpts, and a feature inventory for Appalachian and Ozark English. (MSE)

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Appalachian English and Ozark English

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VARIATION AND CHANGE

IN GEOGRAPHICALLY ISOLATED COMMUNITIES

BNS 8208916

National Science Foundation

by

Donna Christian
Walt Wolfram
Nanjo Dube

Center for Applied Linguistics
Washington, D.C.

May 1984

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PREFACE

The research reported here was carried out under contract number BNS 8202916 with the National Science Foundation, from September 1, 1982 to February 29, 1984. The aim of the project was to compare language change and maintenance in two rural highland communities in northwest Arkansas and southern West Virginia.

The study reported here had to be carried out as a team effort which required considerable coordination in several different sites, including Arkansas, West Virginia and Washington, D.C. In Arkansas, Nanjo Dube coordinated the fieldwork effort and was responsible for establishing local contacts and setting up interviews. She was aided in her effort by a number of extremely helpful individuals. Billy Higgins was an invaluable local resource about the socio-historical background of the area and also served as a principal fieldworker. Jerry Parker also served as a fieldworker and conducted many rich natural interviews with local residents. For the interviews conducted by Dube, Jack Williams, principal of Oark High School, was extremely helpful in gaining access to younger residents of the area. Without his positive cooperation, the interviews with these adolescents and teenagers would have been impossible. Also helpful in obtaining information about the area were Lillian Mickell, historian of Johnson County since 1956, and Elmo Carter, clerk of Johnson County. To be treated to such delightful folks and unselfish assistance made the fieldwork and research carried out in the Ozarks a most pleasant experience.

The supplementary interviews conducted in West Virginia were done by Rebecca Bills, who also conducted many of our interviews in the original study. As a native of the area who now combines expertise in sociolinguistics with indigenous insight, she is without peer in her ability to bridge the academic and vernacular world. She was as indispensable in this study as she was in our initial entre into Appalachia.

Kristin Franckiewicz prepared typescripts for many of the recordings, with great care and efficiency, and we thank her. Kuby Berkemeyer, of CAL, also typescripted some of the interviews and typed portions of the final report as well, as she has so often done for CAL over the past ten years. As always, she was tolerant of our unconventional time schedule in the final hours of completion. As this was her last project at CAL, we want to acknowledge her enduring patience with our inevitable requests and her admirable performance under unrealistic time limitations.

Although the final report is a team effort, different individuals took the lead at various points in writing the final manuscript. Nanjo Dube was primarily responsible for writing up the local history and demographics of the Ozarks and Donna Christian was responsible for describing the similar situation in Appalachia (Chapter Two). Christian was primarily responsible for the analysis of aspects of the auxiliary (Chapter Four), personal datives (Chapter Five), irregular verbs (Chapter Seven) and subject-verb concord (Chapter Eight), in addition to the preparation of the introduction with Wolfram (Chapter One). Wolfram was responsible for the analysis of _a_-prefixing (Chapter Five), the presentation of models of variation with Christian (Chapter Three), the

overall conclusion (Chapter Nine), and the organization and preparation of the inventory of features (Appendix C). On every level, then, this research qualifies as a team effort, and we hope that the report reflects the fact that it was a particularly complementary and supportive team.

Reactions and comments on the final report are welcomed and encouraged. There is certainly much more to be said about the comparison of language maintenance and change in Appalachia and the Ozarks, and the implications of this change for a dynamic model of language variation. We felt like we were just getting started when time ran out on the project. Hopefully, we can keep a-rollin' despite the artificial restrictions placed on research by contract deadlines.

Walt Wolfram
Donna Christian
Co-Principal Investigators
June 1984

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Study

The similarities between the peoples and cultures of the Appalachian and Ozark Mountain regions have long been recognized. The historical relationship is clear and the parallels in the physical environment are obvious. Given the social and geographical correspondences between the two areas, it would not be surprising to find linguistic similarities as well. In fact, many observers of speech patterns in the Ozarks and Appalachians have concluded that a close linguistic affinity can simply be assumed. Randolph observes:

> ...every layman who travels much in the Ozark country knows that some of the older natives do speak a peculiar jargon, derived doubtless from the dialect of the southern Appalachians. (1931:68)

Mencken, in his compendium on the dialects of English, reiterates this position:

> This mountain speech (Appalachian English) is also to be found in the Ozarks, which lie in the corner where Missouri, Arkansas and Oklahoma meet. It was taken there by immigrants from Appalachia and has filtered into the adjacent lowlands. (1962:105)

While many similarities between the dialects of these regions are assumed on the basis of limited and anecdotal data, there exist no empirical studies to document the relationship between them.

This comparative investigation of Ozark and Appalachian English (OE and AE, respectively) addresses some of the issues involved in considering this relationship. The goals of the study are to compare selected structures in AE and OE in order to: (1) examine similarities

and differences between the two varieties; (2) investigate the behavior of a range of age levels (10-70+) to determine patterns of change in the varieties; (3) examine preservation patterns in AE and OE in light of increasing pressure to conform to mainstream norms; and (4) compare AE and OE with other non-mainstream varieties as described in the literature. The results of this investigation are reported in the chapters that follow.

The circumstances surrounding the development and maintenance of AE and OE lend special interest and import to a comparison of their linguistic features. In the development of a language, a situation may arise in which two varieties from a common historical source become separated geographically and yet maintain quite similar sociocultural contexts within which they evolve. A basic question about such a situation is: does the evolution of the varieties, including the type and rate of change, take place in a parallel fashion, given the similarity of contexts, or is selectivity in change manifested which renders the varieties distinct? Certain limited anecdotal evidenc available concerning such a situation, for example, from descriptions of Vernacular Black English in different northern urban areas which derived from a common southern variety, suggests a degree of comparability of development (Wolfram and Fasold 1974). One of the most ideal situations in which to pursue this line of inquiry can be found in the varieties of English in the Ozarks and Appalachia.

The similarities in the social and geographical profiles of these two regions make them an appropriate laboratory for a language study of this type. Both include relatively isolated rural areas within a mountain range. Historically, the physical environment has been a very

important determining factor in the development of each area. Although the geographical isolation of the past has been overcome to a large extent with modern transportation, evidence of this historical isolation remains. The mountaineer subculture which developed in both regions is different from that of other populations within the United States (Coles 1972; Weatherford and Brewer 1962), such as that of the urban resident or southern sharecropper.

Migratory patterns may have given rise to some of the apparent similarities in Appalachia and the Ozarks as well. Many of the residents of the Ozarks apparently came from the Appalachian mountain range originally. While there is some question as to the exact heritage of the original settlers, a large and influential group, the Scottish, began arriving in America about 1640 and steadily moved to the South and West. Some writers claim that "the mountain people (are) today largely native born Americans of Scotch-Irish and Highland Scot lineage" (Weatherford and Brewer 1962:4). From the Appalachian mountain range, many of the migrants to the South and West eventually settled in the Ozarks. This apparent migratory pattern is not surprising, since the Ozarks range is the only extended mountainous area between the Appalachians and the Rocky Mountains.

Thus, the sociolingusitic setting of these regions presents an ideal laboratory for a comparison of non-mainstream varieties. In the first place, it offers an opportunity to examine the current relationship of varieties which apparently have had an historical affinity but now exist in isolation. The extensions of Linguistic Atlas investigations into the Ozarks have indicated that there are a number of features found in this area which can be traced back to Appalachia (cf. Wood 1963).

Preliminary investigations of Arkansas speech by Underwood (1971; 1972; 1973) suggest a number of similarities between the varieties spoken in these areas. Foster (1974) finds the two areas in general to be much alike and observes that:

> Some of my own work...and some of Underwood's studies indicate that this similarity extends to language also and that RO (Rural Ozark) has more in common with Appalachian dialects in the east than with any other English dialect. There are very little comparative data, however. (1974:1)

While such sources are suggestive of a close relationship, only comprehensive examination of the structural details of these varieties can establish the full extent of the similarities and differences and contribute to an explanatory account of these phenomena.

Given the sociolinguistic context, a comparative study also provides an important laboratory for examining language change under similar conditions of relative isolation. The direction of the language change, the selected preservation of particular structures, and the relative rate of change have significance far beyond this study, but this situation offers an ideal setting to probe some of these questions. In this context the data provide an important test case for the model of language change which provides a framework for this study (i.e. the model found in works such as Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, Labov 1972a, Bailey 1973 and Labov 1981). Data for related varieties changing under similar conditions in different regions is particularly important in examining claims about the uniformity of stages that language changes participate in. Finally, this situation provides an important setting to examine the relationship of varieties such as these not only in their relation to each other but also in their relation to other

non-mainstream varieties of English and to examine the notion of a continuum of dialect divergence.

Understanding the process of evolution, maintenance and modification of linguistic diversity presents a significant challenge for students of language variation. An account of these processes cannot be found in unidimensional, simplistic model of language and/or society; it demands an empirical basis which is inherently multi-dimensional and should cover a variety of diverse language situations. As Labov (1981:305) concludes, after an extensive discussion aimed at resolving the neogrammarian controversy in the light of evidence from lexical diffusion, theories of language variation and change take shape and grow strong only to the extent that they keep their connection with the realities of the everyday world. Studies of language variation in different community settings have taught us much, but there is still much to learn as we broaden our examination of sociolinguistic situations. This study is aimed at expanding our understanding of language variation and change through the investigation of a somewhat unique sociolinguistic situation that exists among American English dialects.

Data Collection

The data for this study consist of tape-recorded speech samples collected in interviews with residents of Appalachia and the Ozarks. The majority of the Appalachian interviews were obtained in the fall of 1974, for another study reported on in Wolfram and Christian (1975).[1] This corpus contained tapes of speakers from Monroe and Mercer Counties, West Virginia, a site selected originally because it was representative of central/southern Appalachia, relatively homogeneous, and populated

largely by the type of speaker desired for the sample, lower and lower-middle (socioeconomic) class Whites. In order to minimize any artificiality introduced by the interview setting, members of the local communities acted as fieldworkers and conducted these interviews. In all, 129 tape-recorded samples of spontaneous conversation were avaiable from the earlier study.

For the current study, a comparable corpus of Ozark speech data was needed, and a number of additional interviews were required for the Appalachian corpus as well, in order to fill out the representation in the older age groups. These tape recordings were collected in the fall of 1982 and spring of 1983; as in the earlier study, the primary fieldworkers were local community members.[2] A questionnaire was provided, listing a range of questions on topics like childhood games, hunting, farming, ghost stories and the like, that were designed to stimulate conversation, but in most cases the fieldworkers had little need to refer to it. Conversations flowed freely and many of the topics listed came up naturally during the course of the interviews.

The Ozark data come from the northwest corner of Arkansas, from Johnson County and neighboring areas (see Chapter Two for a description of the region). A total of 59 subjects were interviewed, 30 females and 29 males, for the most part lower socio-economic Whites who were born and raised in the area. In addition, 7 interviews that had been done in 1978 by one of our fieldworkers[3] were also made available to us. These included 6 males and 4 females. In all, then, 69 subjects were represented in the Ozark corpus, ranging in age from 11 to 91.

The additional Appalachian data were obtained in interviews with residents of Mercer County, West Virginia, one of the two counties

included in our earlier study. A total of 15 subjects were added to the sample, 10 males and 5 females, to fill out the older age groups. These age groups were established so that age differences that might be related to language changes in progress could be examined. Although we may not always have access to detailed accounts of the specific language behavior within a community at different time periods, it is possible to observe language changes that are taking place through "apparent time" (Labov 1966:318). From this perspective, we view different generations within a population as a reflection of different time levels.

While the specific age categories chosen to guide the data collection process are to some extent arbitrary, the breakdown of age levels is intended to give a picture of the language situation across several generations. The first age group 10-15, represents the post-acquisitional period of the emerging generation of speakers of Appalachian and Ozark varieties. The 16-30 year old subjects represent those speakers who are establishing their roles within the community, whereas the 31-50 year old group has already settled into its role with respect to their language usage. The 51-70 and above 70 age levels represent an older generation which might reflect the language situation of an earlier period in terms of the framework of apparent time. The age dimension is crucial as we examine descriptive and theoretical aspects of language preservation and change. During data collection, then, a balance of interviews from the 5 age groups was maintained, with equal distribution according to sex as well.

The Linguistic Sample

From the 213 subjects constituting the full sample, a smaller subset was identified as the analytic sample. All of the subjects in the analytic sample for the earlier AE study who met the age requirements were included in the current sample (a total of 47). This led to a somewhat heavier representation for the younger AE speakers, but since earlier analyses which were to form the basis for comparisons were based on that group, there seemed to be no objective way of reducing it. From the newly obtained speech samples, inclusion in the analytic sample was based on three factors: (1) amount of speech by the subject (2) quality of the recording and (3) age group representation. Since most subjects provided an adequate speech sample, the latter two factors were decisive; the best quality recordings were chosen for each age/sex category. Table 1.1 gives the total number of subjects in the analytic sample by age and sex. Appendix A displays of full listing of these subjects, with relevant background information on each individual.

	AE		OE	
Age Group	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-15	9	10	3	5
16-30	6	6	4	6
31-50	5	5	3	4
51-70	6	5	4	4
70+	5	5	4	4
Totals	31	31	18	22
Group Total	62		40	

Table 1.1. Subjects in the Analytic Sample by Age and Sex

Once the analytic sample tapes were identified, a transcript of each interview was prepared. These typescripts do not serve as data in any way at all; they are simply guides to the interviews. They serve more like road maps, allowing easy reference to particular instances. However, any time data extraction was done, the tape recordings of the interviews were directly consulted. The typescripts were prepared in normal orthography, with no attempt at phonetic transcription. Excerpts from two of the typescripts, one each from the AE and OE samples, are appended (Appendix E), to illustrate the nature of the typescripts and to exemplify the types of interviews that were obtained.

Appalachian and Ozark English

In the report that follows, the terms "Appalachian English" (abbreviated AE) and "Ozark English" (OE) will be used in a somewhat loose way. They are not intended as a reference to the speech of all people who live in Appalachia or the Ozarks even if the regions are defined quite narrowly. In the present context, the terms are employed to cover the general variety of English spoken by the people in the regions from which the samples have been obtained (southeastern West Virginia and northwestern Arkansas) and what is being described is, in actuality, the speech only of those residents of the area who became members of the sample, by and large part of the working class rural population. However, indications are that this group shares many linguistic characteristics with other working class groups in central/southern Appalachia and the Ozarks (from informal observations and other available descriptions). Thus, although the precise referents of AE and OE in the following discussion are the speech patterns of the

rather restricted group of members of the sample, it seems likely that the observations made would apply to the speech of more broadly defined areas.

It is appropriate at this point to offer some comments on the notion of Standard English which will be used as a comparative norm. This term designates the sum of linguistic forms judged to be socially acceptable by people in a position to make these judgments. As observed by Wolfram and Fasold (1974:21), every society has people in such a position, and their judgments of what is acceptable in language constitute the informal standard for that language. Since there is variation among standard, acceptable forms, the varieties of English spoken that are socially accepted will be called "mainstream" varieties; they may differ to some degree from each other, but they are all evaluated as acceptable. "Mainstream" is distinguished from "standard" (and "non-mainstream" from "non-standard") in the following way. When we speak of particular forms of a lnguage, they can be considered to be "standard" if they conform to the type of informal norms just mentioned. In this frame of reference, then, you were represents the standard form of agreement for that combination of subject and verb, while you was would be a nonstandard form. A variety of a language, on the other hand, is a composite of the language use of a group of people, such as the speech patterns of upper middle class whites in a particular region. It would not be appropriate to designate varieties in the same way as linguistic forms, since those with degrees of nonstandard form usage have a large amount of standard form usage as well. Varieties are considered to be "mainstream" or "non-mainstream", labels which are intended to reflect the fact that speakers tend to be mainstream or

non-mainstream socially as well as linguistically. It follows that mainstream varieties include predominantly standard linguistic forms, while non-mainstream varieties have varying degrees of nonstandard usage. Standard English is, then, an artifact containing only standard forms which is represented by a number of mainstream varieties.

The Present Study

The study reported on in the following chapters deals with the comparison of two varieties of English, AE and OE, on selected structures. In Chapter Two, we describe the setting for the study, the particular historical and socio-cultural context in which the varieties are enmeshed. Chapter Three sets out the framework for the comparison of linguistic structures, discussing qualitative and quantitative language differentiation, as well as models of language variation and language change which will come into play. The next five chapters present the discussions of particular linguistic structures, describing the variability of each feature and comparing its usage in AE and OE. Chapters Four and Five deal with basically qualitatively-described features--non-participle *done* (Four) and personal dative (Five). *A*-prefixing, a relic construction still preserved in both AE and OE, is the topic of Chapter Six, and its analysis has both strong descriptive and quantitative aspects. Finally, Chapters Seven and Eight treat the features whose of irregular verb usage (Seven) and subject-verb concord (Eight), both descriptively and within the implicational analysis framework. Finally, an overview of the comparison of OE and AE on these structures and a discussion of the findings are given in Chapter Nine. In the Appendices, a list of the individuals in the analytic sample is given

(Appendix A), followed by excerpts from the typescripts of two interviews. The final Appendix (C) presents an inventory of features that characterize OE and AE.

Notes to Chapter One

[1]The earlier study of Appalachian English was funded by the National Institute of Education, in a grant to the Center for Applied Linguistics (number NIE-G-74-0026), with Walt Wolfram as principal investigator (September 1974 to August 1975).

[2]The exception to this was the collection of data from school-aged subjects. These interviews were conducted by Nanjo Dube, a member of the research team, who is a resident of Arkansas, but not from the same section of the state as our sample.

[3]Billy Higgins had tape-recorded these interviews with older members of the community for a project on life and work in the Ozarks, which was funded by the Arkansas Endowment for the Humanities. We are grateful to him for allowing us to make copies of these tapes for use in our investigation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SETTING: HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

As noted in the introductory chapter, the Appalachian and Ozark mountain areas share a number of features beyond their physical characteristics. These similarities in historical development, current social and economic conditions and a strong migration connection provide an ideal background for the study of relatedness among varieties of English. In this chapter, we will discuss the socio-historical context in which this language study is situated.

The Appalachian Region

The Appalachian Mountain system covers territory from Maine to Alabama, but the area known as 'Appalachia' is typically considered to encompass parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and all of West Virginia. Parts of bordering states are also included in more official definitions.[1] In the delineations found, however, West Virginia is the only state which ever is included as a whole within this region. Thus, those features which are most often associated with the Appalachian area will apply in most cases to the entire state (for example, the predominance of a rural population with few metropolitian centers). Speech patterns which can be identified with the Appalachian area are most often associated with the rural sections of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, and to a lesser extent bordering regions in Virginia and the Carolinas. While there are of course differences from community to community, the English varieties spoken in this region have

been shown to have many features in common (Blanton 1974; Wolfram and Christian 1975; Montgomery 1979; Miles 1980).

A brief overview of the history of the central and southern Appalachians, and of West Virginia in particular, can give some general indication of the roots of conditions found there today. In the early years of settlement in the East, the Cherokee Indian Nation formed the majority of the inhabitants of this area. After they were driven south, the Shawnees, who lived along the Ohio River, used the southern part of what is now West Virginia for their hunting grounds.[2] In the eighteenth century, settlers began moving west from the Atlantic seaboard, and when certain routes were found through the mountains, many continued on past them. However, some remained and settled in homes in valleys and on the mountainsides themselves. Few permanent settlements survived, however, until after the Indian population was forced out of the area, even though a number of forts were established to protect the settlers (including Wood's Fort and Cook's Fort in what is now Monroe County, West Virginia (Motley 1973:39)). In addition, difficulties were compounded by the rugged environment of the mountains, and, because of this, when settlements were maintained, the people were largely cut off from other areas. The romantic picture of the mountaineer, living up in the hills as his ancestors did, was actually a fairly accurate one for many people in this area.

Many of the early settlers in this region were Pennsylvania Dutch who migrated south, often continuing on to North Carolina. In addition to the Germans, there were also English, Dutch and smaller groups from other parts of Europe. However, a large and influential group, the Scottish, began arriving in America about 1640 and steadily moved to the

south and west (Weatherford and Brewer 1962:2). Those who passed through or remained in the Appalachian territory are thought to have been mainly the Scotch-Irish, so named because their migration pattern included a stop in North Ireland before continuing on to the northern parts in America. (Another stream of Scots emigrated directly from the Highlands, arriving in ports in the south.) It is not clear, however, how homogeneous the early population of the area was. Some writers present claims that imply that it was quite homogeneous:

> There has been so little foreign migration into the mountain region since the Revolutionary War that the mountain people today, largely native-born Americans of Scotch-Irish and Highland Scot lineage, are peculiarly noteworthy in a nation that is characterized by extraordinary diversity of racial and cultural traits.
>
> (Weatherford and Brewer 1962:4)

This would indicate that the population prior to the Revolution was predominantly Scotch-Irish and Highland Scot. However, other investigators have arrived at different conclusions:

> Many writers have commented on the pure Scotch-Irish or pure Anglo-Saxon population residing in the Applachians at the present time. The impression is left that a distinct racial group settled the Appalachians and has remained racially pure for many generations. Actually, no reliable evidence is available as to the origin of those settling the Appalachian area...The probability is that the settlers of the mountains were representative of the population of the nation in the early nineteenth century.
>
> (Belcher 1962:38-39)

Once permanent settlements were established, two basic styles of life developed. The earlier settlers were largely self-sufficient farmers, whose families lived as comparatively independent units. However, during the nineteenth century, when the country as a whole was growing rapidly, the resources of the region, particularly its lumber and coal,

made the land valuable. As a result of this, towns began to emerge, some originating as mining and lumbering camps. Coles (1972:494) describes four kinds of communities that developed:

> First there are the hollows, with scattered pockets of people up in the hills--people usually related to one another and people with little to do but farm and hunt. Serving a number of these hollows is usually a larger community, able to offer the surrounding area a crossroad store, a post-office, a school ... Then there are the towns--mill towns. Here lumber and coal are gathered and loaded on their way out of the region... Finally, there are the real urban centers. They are usually prosperous and again, able to draw upon the wealth of the region's forests and mines...

The two counties from which our Appalachian data sample comes--Monroe and Mercer Counties, West Virginia--include the range of communities indicated above except for the urban center, and thus seem representative, on this level at least, of rural West Virginia and the larger Appalachian region. They are located in the far southern part of West Virginia, each bordering on the state of Virginia (see Figure 2.1), and are similar in terrain, lying within 'the most rugged parts' of what is termed the 'Ridge and Valley Province' of the Southern Appalachian area (Vance 1962:1). However, factors involving other physical features and related aspects of historical development have led to some significant differences between the counties today. These differences, which will be discussed shortly, give, within a relatively small area, two basic types of counties representative of a larger part of Appalachia.

In the years prior to the Civil War, the two counties were quite similar, although Mercer County seems to have been settled somewhat later than Monroe. Incorporated as a separate county in 1799 (then as a part of the state of Virginia), Monroe County (named after the fifth

Figure 2.1. The Location of Monroe County and Mercer County, West Virginia

President, James Monroe) consisted mainly of subsistence farmers, with some small communities where several families had gathered. Union, now the county seat, was founded in 1774, and the Rehoboth Methodist Church, one of the first churches in the area, was built outside Union in 1786. By the mid-1800's a small resort-type industry had developed, when mineral water was discovered and springs were established to exploit the claimed healing powers of the water, including Red Sulphur Springs and Sweet Springs. However, this industry was relatively short-lived, because other more accessible treatments were found for the various ailments (notably tuberculosis) and, probably more importantly, the predominantly southern upper class clientele diminished in numbers as a result of the Civil War. Some hotels remained in business until after 1900, but attempts at attracting more northerners were not very successful. On the subject of this resort industry after the Civil War, Haskell Shumate (personal communication, see Note 2) observed:

> At Salt Sulphur Springs there was a northerner, he bought the Salt Sulphur Springs, by the name of Colonel Appleton. And he carried on for a while. He got northern guests. But the northern guests didn't cater to it like the southern and about the year of 1900 in that area, it went out. And that dropped out of the picture then.

Since much of the land is covered by forests, with some areas basically impossible to farm, lumber became an important resource of the county. However, the lumbering that has been done has been mainly in small-scale operations and has not had a great impact on the development of the county. Thus, Monroe County has changed little, and the economy remains agriculturally based for the most part.

Both counties seem to have been sympathetic with the South at the time of the Civil War; however, when the state of West Virginia was

created in 1863 in reaction to the secession of Virginia, they were officially northern counties. Despite this, many of the residents still aligned themselves with the South, with, for example, the hotel at Salt Sulphur Springs in Monroe County serving as headquarters for Confederate troops during several campaigns (Motley 1973:147).

Mercer County was not incorporated as a county until 1837 (being a part of the state of Virginia at the time), and its major development took place later than that of Monroe, and in a different direction. Although there was a substantial amount of farming, a more important factor was the discovery of coal resources that were greatly in demand in the rest of the nation. This resulted in the growth of towns whose primary activity centered around mining. This naturally led to greater population growth for the county, and by 1900, it had 23,023 people, as compared to Monroe's 13,130 (Sizer 1967). It also led to Mercer's undergoing the series of changes inherent in the industrialization process, while Monroe remained largely isolated from many of these changes.

This is not to say, however, that the counties as a whole are radically different today. The rural sections of Mercer County are much like Monroe County, and probably fairly typical of rural Appalachia in general, consisting of a number of small communities and relatively isolated groups living in the mountains. The main differences are found in the areas of Mercer County which can be classified as 'urban' according to the 1980 census. This 'urban' area makes up approximately one-third of the total population of 73,942 and represents only two cities, Princeton, the county seat (population 7,493) and Bluefield (population 16,060). Monroe County, with a 1980 population of 12,873 had no urban

areas at all, and its county seat, Union, with 743 residents, is the largest town.[3]

As greater attention is being given to the situation in Appalchia today, Kentucky and West Virginia are often focused on because so much of the discussion revolves around the mining industry. However, in comparing the two Appalachian counties being considered here, it can be seen that the rural counties in this area have faced many of the same difficulties, except that the changes in the farming economy may have been less dramatic than those in mining. The nature of the physical environment, for example, affects all areas, leading to problems like one pointed out by Ter Horst (1972:37) who notes that the development of transportation systems is difficult because of the expense involved in building highways. A two-lane paved road, at the time he was writing, cost two million dollars per mile in mountainous areas of West Virginia. Coles (1972:495) discusses the convergence of factors giving rise to economic problems:

> ...difficult terrain that has not made the entry of private capital easy, progressive deforestation, land erosion, periods of affluence when 'coal was king', followed by increasing automation of the mine industry (and a decreasing national demand for coal), pollution that has ruined some of its finest streams so that strip mining can go full speed ahead...

Changes in population reflect the economic state of an area, with prosperity generally coinciding with increases in population. One of the most striking facts about Appalachia is the rate at which it lost population in the period between 1950 and 1970, through a combination of out-migration and decrease in the birth rate, and West Virginia was among the hardest hit (Brown 1972:131). Since 1970, there seems to be

movement toward population gains once again. Figure 2.2 gives the population figures for Monroe and Mercer counties for the years 1900 to 1980, showing clearly the decline during the 1950's and 1960's, and the more recent recovery. It can be seen that Monroe County, with its farming base, remained stable in population until 1950, except for a decline during the Depression. Mercer County, on the other hand, shows a rapid growth period from 1900 to 1950, coinciding with the development of coal mining and then a more dramatic decline to 1970. The influence of coal is also evident from the number of people employed in mining, which in Mercer County dropped from 3,808 in 1940, to 2,690 in 1950, to 427 in 1960 (Sizer 1967:100).

High rates of migration, thus, have been a major result of the economic situation in the area, with coal mining usually considered the prime cause. For example, Brown (1972:142) notes:

> In eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia and southwestern Virginia, the drastic decline of employment in coal mining during the 1950's continued on into the 1960's as a result of mechanization and the growth of strip mining. Together with availability of employment in metropolitan industrial centers outside Appalachia itself, notably in the Midwest, this resulted in a virtual stampede of migrants out of the region in the 1950's. Although the number of migrants leaving declined in the 1960's, the rate of migration loss from most of this area was still very high.

However, rural, non-mining counties like Monroe have as well been affected by migration. There are two significant consequences of this process which will not be discussed extensively but should be mentioned. First, migration of great numbers to large midwestern and northern cities naturally leads to some problems in these locations. The migration to large cities adds to their labor pool and often to their

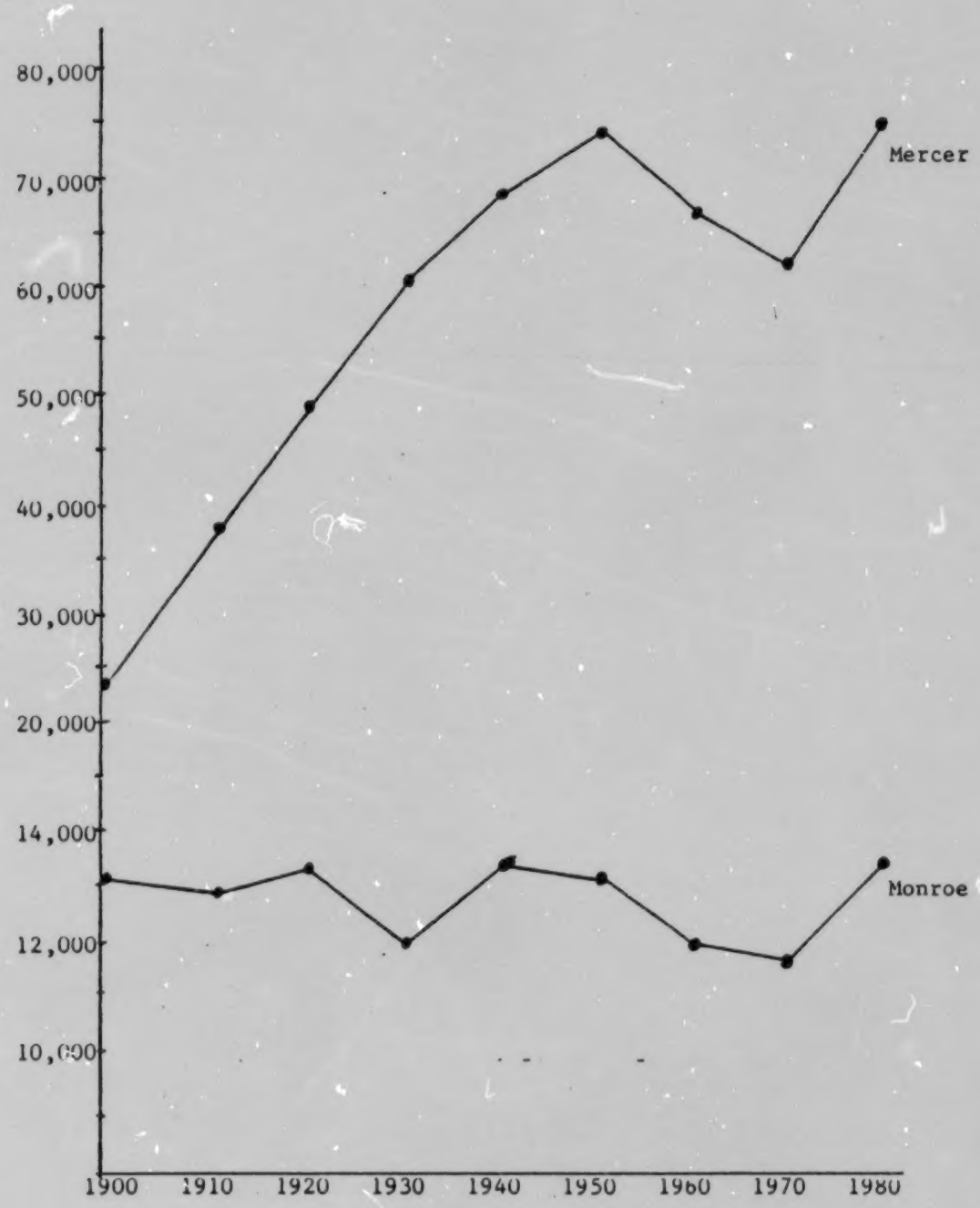

Figure 2.2. Population Figures for Monroe and Mercer Counties, West Virginia, 1900-1980 (From Sizer 1967 and the 1970 and 1980 Census)

unemployment statistics, so that many of the outmigrants ultimately return to their home states. A number of studies have been done on the Appalachian migrant in the city (e.g. Walls and Stephenson 1973; Glenn 1970; Photiadis 1969) which document the kinds of problems that are created in such contexts. The second consequence is that many who leave the area are young adults, often the more educated, who either cannot find employment or who see more attractive opportunities elsewhere. This leaves some areas with an unbalanced distribution of population among various age groups, which leads to a certain amount of concern. For instance, the Comprehensive Planning Program for Monroe County, issued in December 1970, notes that the migration from the county, decade 1950-1960 was heavily concentrated in the 20 to 39 year old age group. Haskell Shumate also pointed this out, noting the need to attract the young people. He observed that "a big percentage of the population are old people who have gone away, worked, retired, and come back." This is not good for the county, he maintained, expressing a hope that more industrialization will bring more young people back. "We'll get a few back, but we'll hold the ones that's here. They won't leave. And make a more balanced county."

A few more statistics will provide a fuller picture of the two counties and point up the similarities between them, despite their somewhat different economic bases. Figures from the 1970 census are provided here since most of the data collection took place in 1974. Unemployment in 1970 was 5.0 percent in Mercer and 9.0 percent in Monroe County, as compared to the state as a whole at 5.1 percent. The percentage of families with income below the federally-defined poverty level in Mercer County was 18 percent, identical to that statewide, while

Monroe County had over 29 percent in that category. (Some adjustment might need to be made in these figures for those engaged in farming for their own consumption; however, this would probably make only a very slight difference.) Moreover, only 8.5 percent of Mercer and 4.9 percent of Monroe County families had incomes of $15,000 or more. In education, the median number of school years completed for those 25 years of age and over was 11.0 in Mercer and 9.9 in Monroe. An increased emphasis on the value of education is probably indicated by the fact that, of those persons between 14 and 17 years of age, Mercer had 88.2 percent and Monroe had 92.3 percent in school in 1970.

This brief description frames the Appalachian corpus in the historical development and contemporary socio-economic conditions of the area of West Virginia from which it comes. From all indications these two counties are fully representative of the larger Appalachian region in which they are located. We can move on now to provide a similar characterization of the source of the Ozark speech data. The resulting comparison will indicate the similarity between the contexts in which the varieties of English under consideration have emerged.

The Ozark Region

The speech samples in the Ozark corpus for this study come from interviews done with residents of the Boston Mountain area of northwest Arkansas, a typical rural Ozark setting. More specifically, the speakers are natives of five Arkansas counties which lie in the southern part of the Ozark region: Johnson, Newton, Madison, Crawford, and Franklin. For the most part, they live in the rural sections of these counties, in the area outlined in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3. Counties in the Ozark Region (Adapted from Rafferty 1980:x)

A region is defined by geographers as a portion of the earth's surface that has one or more elements of homogeneity distributed more or less throughout the area. Rafferty (1980:3) notes:

> The Ozarks is one of America's great regions, set apart physically by rugged terrain and sociologically by inhabitants who profess political conservatism, religious fundamentalism and sectarianism, and a strong belief in the values of rural living... As delimited by geographers, the Ozarks are in four states: Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas[4]...The total area may be estimated at 60,000 square miles, larger than Arkansas....

As indicated in Figure 2.4 the Ozarks has the general shape of a parallelogram and the region is bounded in a very general way by major rivers. Among the unifying geographical features shared throughout the Ozark Region (which is part of the Interior Highlands Province) are greater relief and steeper slopes than surrounding areas; the abundance of dolomite, as opposed to limestone; the abundance of karst features such as springs, coves, and sinkholes; the prevalence of average to poor soils except in the stream valleys; the extensive forests of oak, hickory, and pine; and the abundance of high quality water resources. The region is generally perceived as a sparsely populated semi-wilderness with superb scenic attractions (Rafferty 1980:4).

The elevation of the central Ozarks are not as great as are those in the southern and western rimlands. The highest elevations within the entire region are found in the Boston Mountains of northwest Arkansas (See Figure 2.5), where there are extensive uplands of more than 2,000 feet sprawling throughout Madison, Newton, Washington, Franklin, Johnson, and Pope counties (See Figure 2.3). The highest elevations in the Boston Mountains are located in the central portion of the range in Madison and Newton counties. Western Newton claims the highest

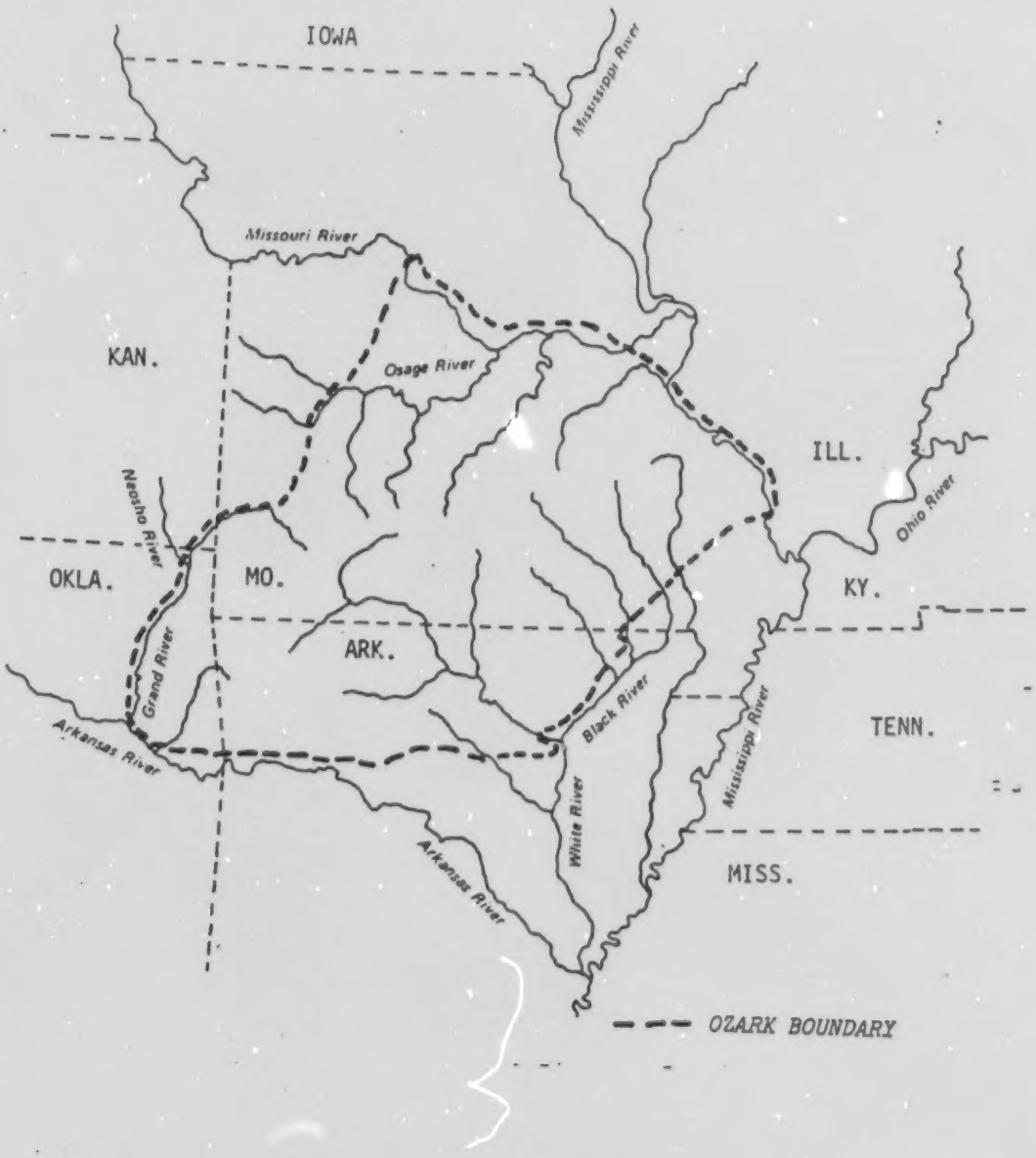

Figure 2.3. The Ozarks and Bordering Rivers (From Rafferty 1980)

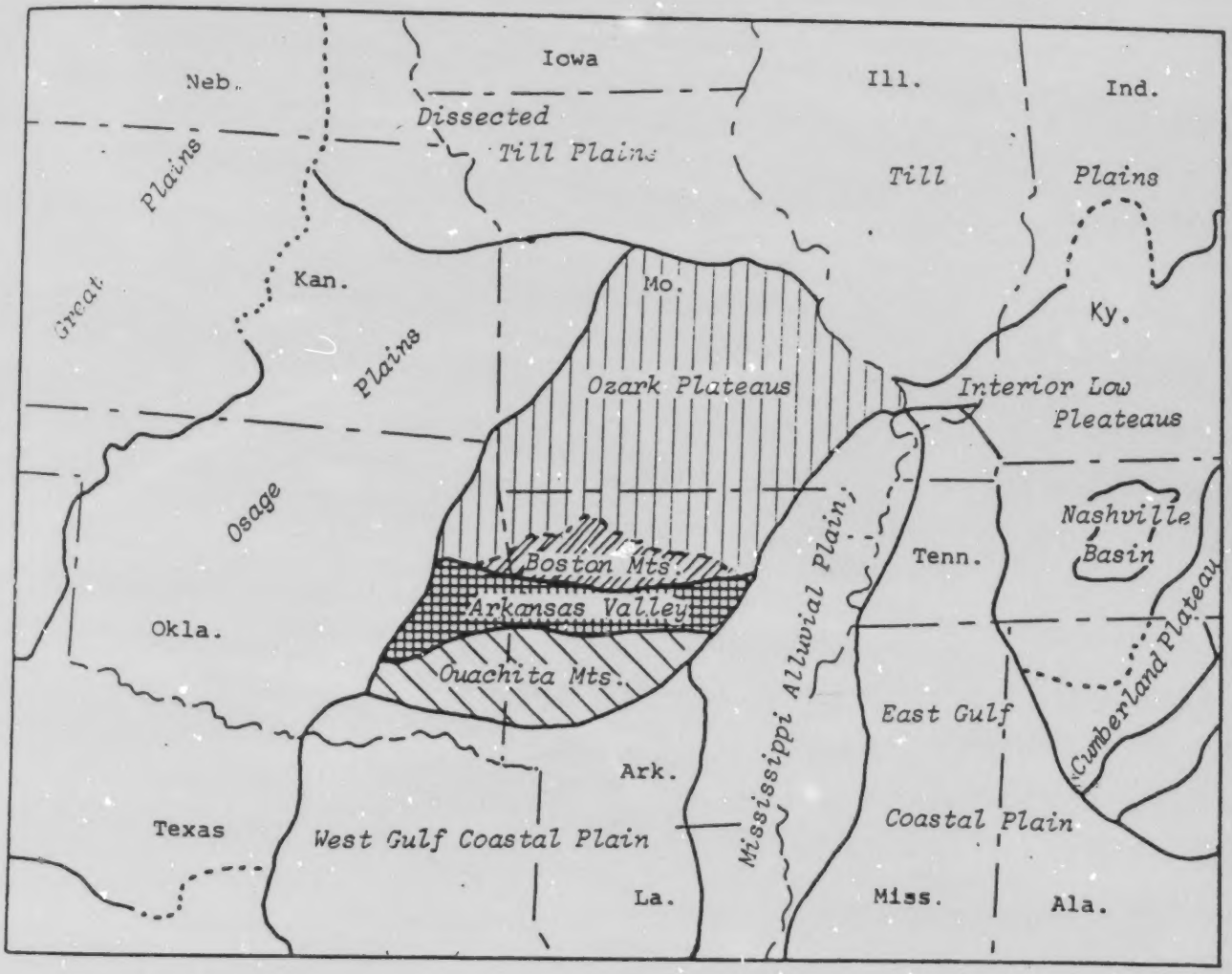

Figure 2.5. The Ozark Upland and Adjacent Physical Divisions (From Rafferty 1980:9)

summit--2578 feet. There are a few lowland basins (called coves) within the Boston Mountains. These are insignificant from the point of view of area, but these fertile bottomlands are important from the point of view of the prosperity of the few farmers fortunate enough to occupy them. One of these basins is the Limestone Valley of Newton County (Rafferty 1980:19).

Among the more striking physical features of the Boston Mountains are their relatively smooth, plateau-like surface (benches) and the relatively flat tops on which the Ozarkians[5] can grow some vegetables, fruit trees, grapes, and blooming perennials.

The cultural characteristics which identify the Ozarkian may be attributed, to a great extent, to four factors. The first of these is isolated rurality, with its suggestion of open country, farming, love of and respect for nature, and the necessity for self-reliance and independence. A second factor which has had a great bearing on the character of the Ozarkian is an uncommon sense of place. They think of themselves as "Ozarkians" and of non-native-born residents as "outsiders". Billy Higgins[6] characterizes this sense of place as follows:

> Their concept of who they are is connected greatly with Arkansas. They probably consider Arkansas as being the Ozarks...The natives are very much stay-put people; they don't dwell on whether they could go to Little Rock, Tulsa, Washington, etc., to "make it"...At times they go out and join the army or take a job driving a semi- or a feed truck and travel out to see other things, but it doesn't make a big impact on them, apparently. They enjoy where they are living and are just tied to it in some way that really relieves them of wondering where their station in life is and if they are going to move up--or about other standards of living...I think they probably think they have a good life where they are--at least they think it can be improved if they get out and earn a little more money...now people

> do work outside--they commute to factory jobs. I know they do this all over Ozarks; they'll commute in to a factory in Clarksville or in Ozark or in Fayetteville or somewhere...they'll earn "bucks" and they'll come back to their place. Work outside the place--the region--is always viewed as seasonal. Their ethic has a part where they believe they should work but they never have a concept of a career job--staying in there year after year...Work for money is always a stop-gap thing...Contrary to the image of laziness, I find that most Ozark people are very diligent workers when they're on the job...The ethic is different only in the respect that they don't have this career orientation--this 8 to 5 orientation, they do not have....

A third factor influencing the character of the Ozarkians is the relative stability of the social system within which they operate. The kinship relations are strong and stable. The schools and churches, also stable and dependable, are the centers of social activities.

The last but certainly not least factor influencing the character of the Ozarkians and accounting, to a great extent, for their affinities with the Appalachians is their Upper South hill country heritage. This will become apparent in the discussion of the history of the migrations to the Arkansas Ozarks.

The settlement frontier had not extended to the Ozarks until well after 1800 (See Figure 2.6). The Arkansas Ozarks became Cherokee Indian lands under the terms of Andrew Jackson's 1817 Treaty and in 1818, 3000 Cherokees migrated there and remained until they were removed to the newly formed Cherokee Nation in northeast Oklahoma in 1828. There were no substantial Anglo settlements in the Arkansas Ozarks until after 1833, at which time the beginnings of the settlement of Arkansas was only a part of the larger movement toward the western frontiers.

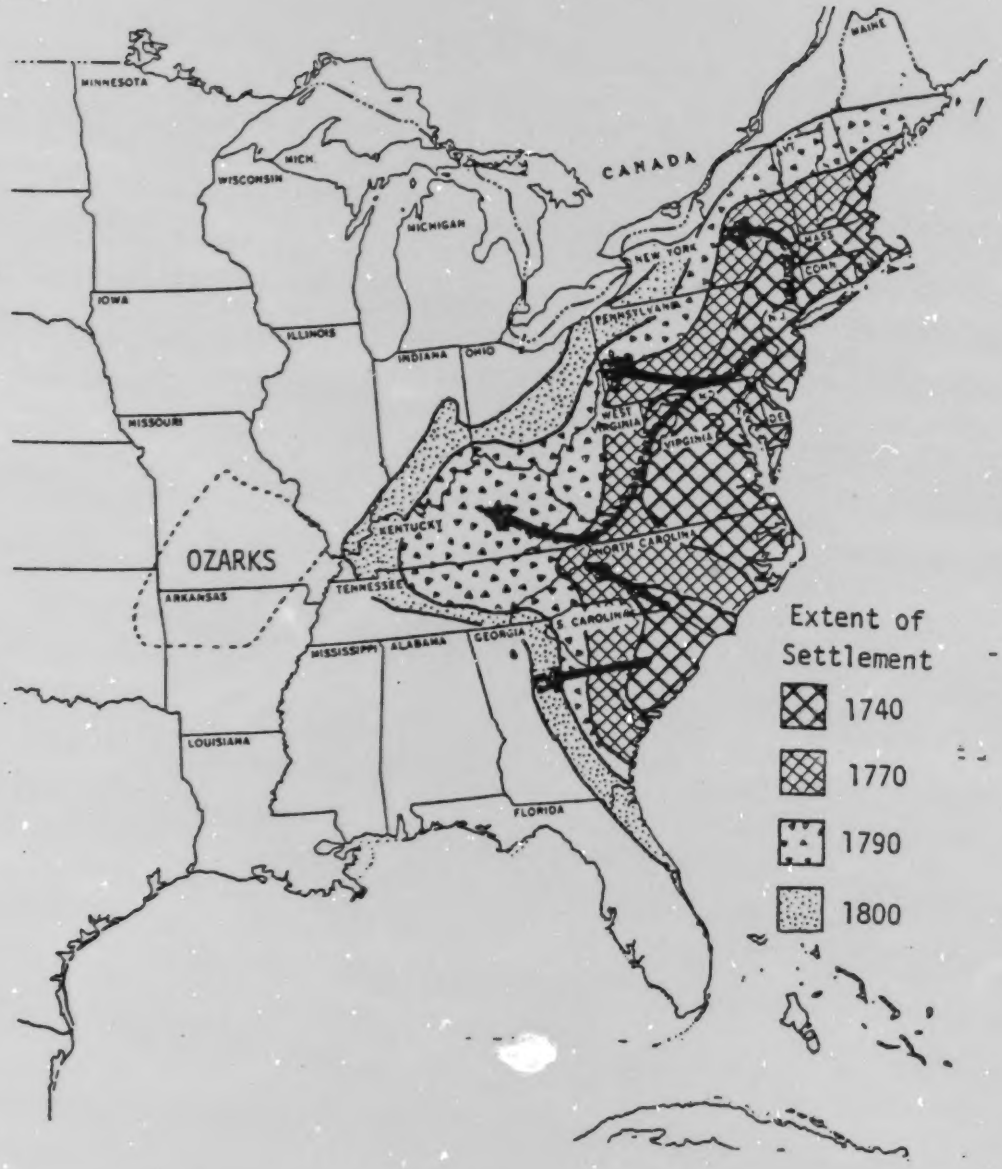

Figure 2.6. The Settlement Frontier and Migration Routes. (Rafferty 1980:44)

Johnson County's historian since 1956, Mrs. Lillian Mickell[7] contributed the following:

> After the land was opened for white settlers, about 1833, Tennessee practically moved here! Arkansas became a state in 1836 and Johnson became a county in the state of Arkansas the same year. In 1838, Clarksville became the county seat. After 1833, immigrants poured in, mostly from Dickson County, Tennessee--Also from North Carolina, South Carolina, Kentucky, and Virginia, and also some foreigners--Germans listed in the 1850 census--who settled around Hartman, Lutherville, and in the mountains around Oark...we have records of coal mines--shaft mines--as early as 1841, but there was no way to ship it out except in baskets on barges to Little Rock. This was not profitable until 1874 when the railroad, which later became the Missouri Pacific, came through Clarksville. Before the railroad came in 1874, the settlers made their own trails and roads or came on barges down the river....

One of the speakers in our sample echoed the belief that many residents of the area descend from migrants from Tennessee when she observed: "Didn't everybody's folks come from Tennessee?!" (OE 43:6)[8] However, another speaker noted instead: "Nine-tenths of people here come from the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky before the Civil War." It is clear, then, that many Ozark families descend from Appalachian migrants.

One of the chief incentives for settlers to move to Arkansas was the availability of free or cheap land. Many of the immigrants to Arkansas between 1834 and 1880 secured land directly from the United States government. Walz (1958:5) notes:

> The lack of public domain in Tennessee may help to explain why that state ranked first as a source of migration into Arkansas to 1880...Under the federal land law of 1832, known on the frontier as the "poor man's friend", settlers could buy as little as forty acres, which at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre would cost only sixty dollars. The Graduation Act

> of 1854, to which 14,212,610 acres of federal holdings in Arkansas were subject, reduced the minimum price to one dollar per acre...and made further reductions to twelve and one-half cents for land unpurchased after thirty years. Also during the antebellum period, nearly 1,500,000 acres of public land in Arkansas passed into private ownership through the location of military bounty warrants. Such warrants were used to promote enlistments in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War. Between 1847 and 1856, Congress granted 160 acre bonuses to veterans of all United States Wars, or their heirs. Much of this acreage fell into the hands of speculators....

Another source of free land for settlers was the Arkansas Donation Law of 1840, under which settlers might obtain tax-forfeited lands in return for paying the future taxes (Walz 1958:2). Still, as late as 1850, most of the inhabited lands remained in the public domain: squatting was the rule rather than the exception in the Arkansas hills during antebellum years.

In an effort to attract more immigrants into the state, in December of 1852 Arkansas adopted what was reputed to be one of the most liberal homestead exemption laws in the Union. Through this law a homestead up to 160 acres occupied by a householder or his heirs was exempt from sale or execution except for non-payment of taxes or debts contracted prior to the passage of the Act (Walz 1958:8).

It is generally accepted as a truism that during the westward movement many of the migrants sought homes in environments as similar as possible to those they had left. Figure 2.7, which shows the sources of migration into the Arkansas Ozarks through 1880, seems to support this idea. The support is further strengthened when consideration is given to Walz's (1958:129) contentions that over 40% of the white families from either Missouri or Mississippi had started elsewhere; that both states frequently served as intermediate residences for Tennessee

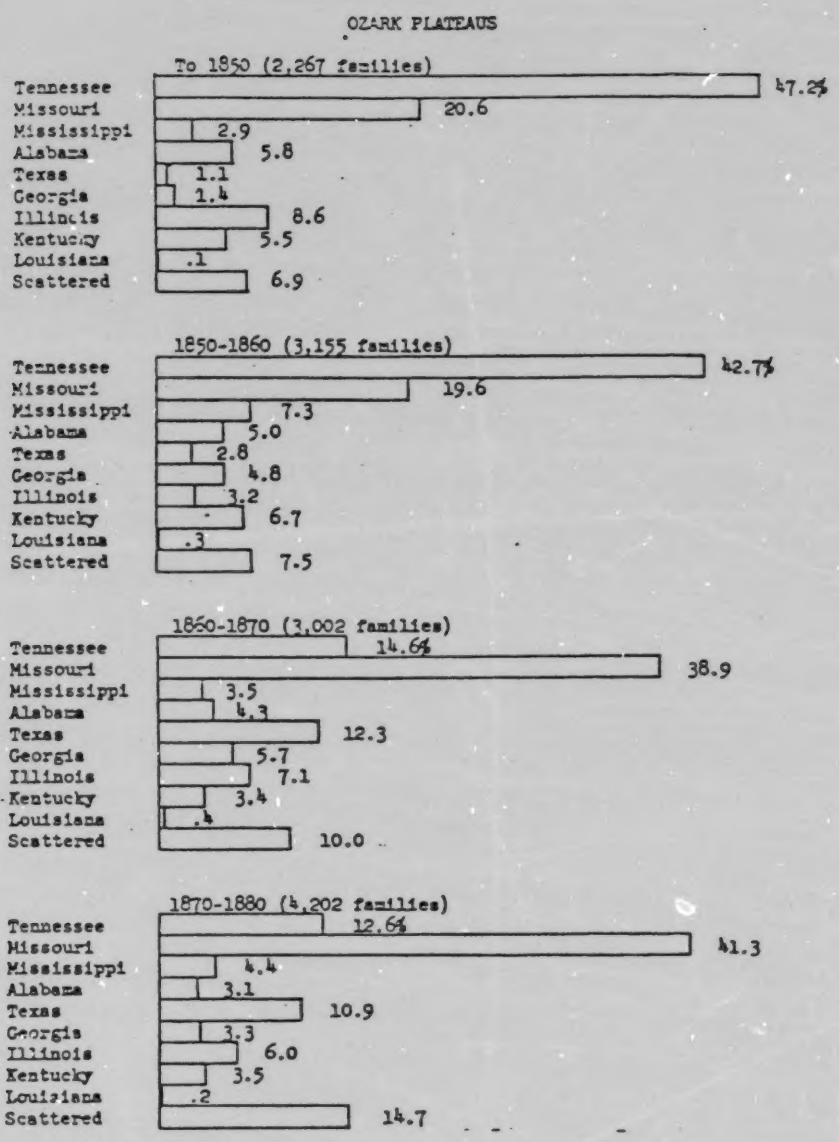

Figure 2.7. Sources of White Migration into Subregions of Arkansas by Decades to 1880 (From Walz 1958)

families making indirect moves to Arkansas; that Missouri was also a temporary residence for many Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky families moving by stages to Arkansas, as was Mississippi for numerous Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina families coming indirectly; that it is probable that at least 1/4 of the families to 1860 and 1/3 from 1860-1880 had made earlier moves; and that the Civil War undoubtedly delayed the arrival of many indirect immigrants who reached Arkansas after 1865.

In view of these immigration patterns, it is not surprising that the Ozark heritage does, indeed, spring from the Upper South hill country. Rafferty (1980:4) discusses this heritage:

> The first immigrants came from Tennessee, Kentucky and nearby parts of the southern Appalachians, occupied the choice lands and established self-sufficient farms. Most were descended from Scotch-Irish stock. Because for many years only a few outsiders entered the area, the economic activities, technologies, values, beliefs, and general way of life came to be patterned after that of the first immigrants. Even today most of the Ozark counties are more than 98% white, native born. Most are protestants. Settlement geographers characterize this process of cultural imprint as the principle of <u>first in time, first in importance</u>. Dr. Robert Flanders of the Ozark studies faculty at Southwest Missouri State University has characterized the Ozarks as a semi-arrested frontier. This useful concept recognizes the persistence of traditional lifestyles, slowness to accept changes, and the presence of a distinctive cultural landscape in which much of the past has persisted. Upon the combined framework of rurality, the Upper South hill country, and the semi-arrested frontier may be hung most of the cultural baggage and popular imagery of the Ozarks: disdain for city life and education, suspicion of outsiders (especially representatives of federal and state agencies), conservative politics (whether Democrat or Republican), good-old-boyism, red necks, clannishness, casual regard for time and reverence for outdoor activities (especially hunting and fishing), independence and closeness to nature, tall tales, fundamental religious beliefs, brush arbor revivals, river baptisms, and characteristic speech habits....

The Two Regions Compared

Figure 2.8 gives the population figures for 1880-1980 for the five Arkansas Ozarks countries involved in this study. When comparing this graph with Figure 2.2 (Appalachian population figures), it is interesting to note the strikingly similar patterns of increase and decline between 1900 and 1960. As with Appalachia, the decrease in population in the Ozarks between 1940 and 1960/1970 may be attributed to a combination of out migration and decrease in birth rate. The "back-to-the-land" movement of the late 1960's and '70's has been a major cause for the reversal of this population decline.

Further similarities between the two regions become evident upon comparison. As with Monroe County, West Virginia, much of the land in the rural Arkansas Ozarks in covered with forests (1,500,000 acres lie within the six ranger districts of the Ozark National Forest). Since much of the land is unsuitable for farming, small-scale lumbering operations have been important to the economy of both regions. The north Arkansas counties were pro-Union and voted against secession until after Ft. Sumter was fired on. The strongest foothold of Republicanism in Arkansas has historically been in the mountain counties.

Other similarities emerge as well. Johnson County, Arkansas, became incorporated in 1836--Mercer County, West Virginia, in 1837. (Monroe County, West Virginia, was settled earlier and incorporated in 1799.) Like rural Monroe County, West Virginia, the five rural Arkansas Ozark counties have remained largely isolated from any changes which industrialization might have brought about. The physical environment in both areas precludes the development of effective transportation systems and the entry of industrialization necessary for urbanization. Coal

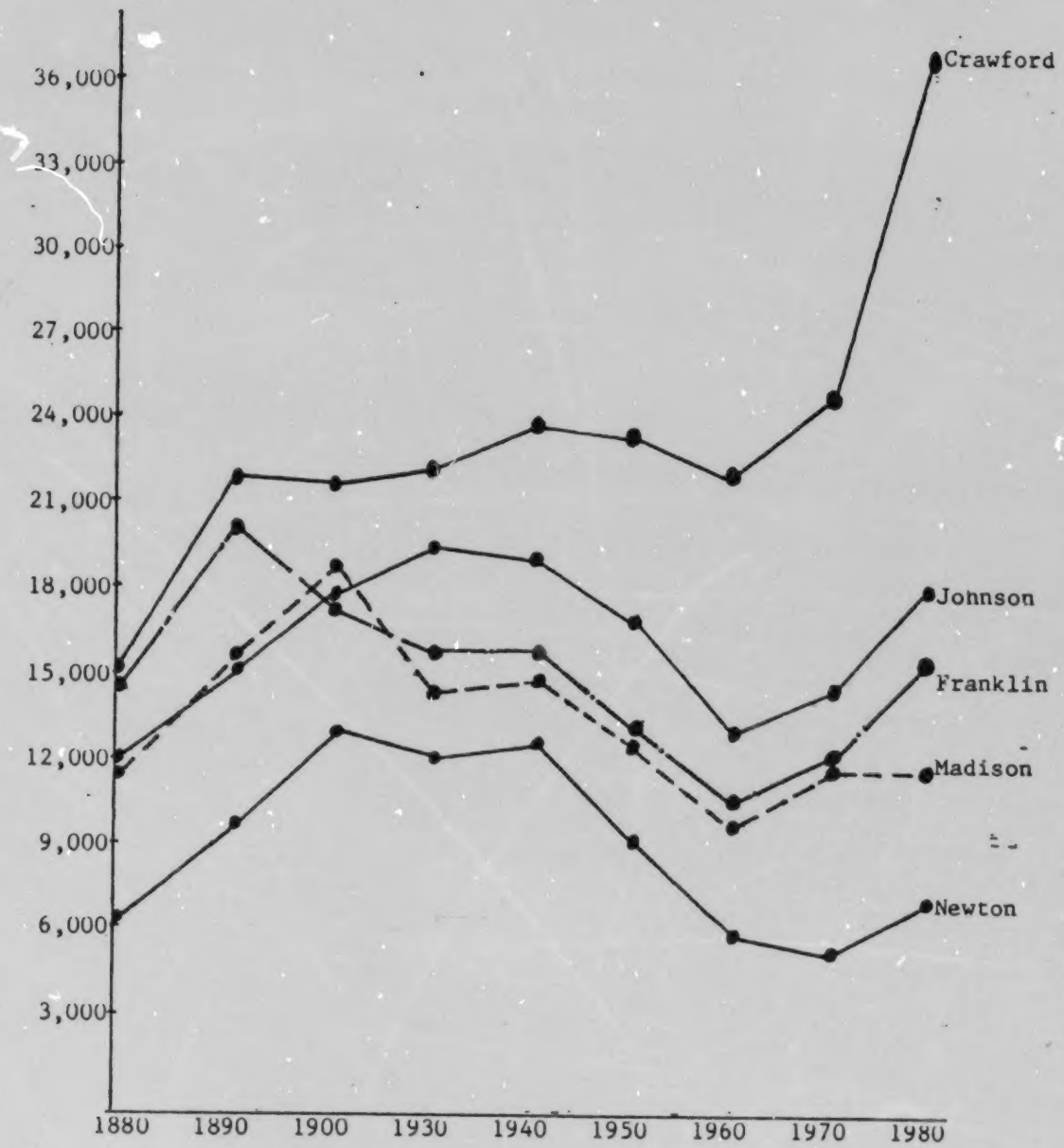

Figure 2.8. Population Figures for Johnson, Newton, Madison, Franklin, and Crawford Counties, Arkansas, 1880 to 1980 (From U.S. Census 1900, 1950, 1980)

mining, while never as significant in Arkansas as in West Virginia, has also declined in the last twenty years.

A comparison of some statistical information gives further insight. The percentages of families below the federally defined poverty level for the two regions are shown below in Table 2.1:

	1970	1980
Arkansas	29.9	14.9
Johnson County	32.3	15.0
Newton County	44.3	26.8
Franklin County	27.5	15.2
Madison County	35.9	17.9
Crawford County	24.0	13.7
West Virginia	18.0	11.7
Mercer County	18.0	11.7
Monroe County	29.0	17.3

Table 2.1. Percentage of Families below the Federally Defined Poverty Level

Educational characteristics of the two areas are also revealing. In Table 2.2, the figures for the median number of school years completed for those 25 years of age and order are given. A similar trend can be noted in the percentages of those persons in school between the ages of 14 and 17, given in Table 2.3.

The differences for 1970 and 1980 seem to indicate an increased standard of living and an increased emphasis on the value of education. For the most part, the Appalachian counties are somewhat further advanced in this tendency than the Ozark counties, In 1970, they had

	1970	1980
Arkansas		
Johnson County	8.9	11.6
Newton County	8.6	11.5
Madison County	8.7	12.0
Franklin County	9.2	12.1
Crawford County	9.9	12.1
West Virginia		
Mercer County	11.0	12.1
Monroe County	9.9	12.1

Table 2.2. Median Number of Years of Schooling for Residents 25 Years of Age and Older

	1970	1980
Arkansas		
Johnson County	86.1	91.6
Newton County	69.5	93.5
Madison County	87.5	88.8
Franklin County	85.6	89.1
Crawford County	82.5	90.8
West Virginia		
Mercer County	88.2	96.5 (14-15)*
		78.3 (16-17)
Monroe County	92.3	97.3 (14-15)
		87.1 (16-17)

*Composite 14-17 year old figures not available

Table 2.3. Percentages of Residents 14 to 17 Years of Age in School

fewer families below the poverty level economically. On the education front, the residents aged 25 and over have slightly more education, and more 14 to 17 year olds are in school. This difference is largely evened out by 1980.

This brief picture of Appalachian and Ozark counties given here mirrors to a great extent that of each of larger regions, both historically and currently. We also find that the two regions have much in common, and they appear to be developing along similar lines, with some minor differences in timing. The physical environment in both cases has been a very important determining factor in their development at all times. The isolation of the past has been to a great extent overcome but by no means completely, and this has brought an increased contact between the culture which had evolved in each region and that of other parts of the nation.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1]The Appalachian Regional Commission, for example, also lists counties in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama.

[2]In addition to bibliographic resources cited, information in this section was provided by Haskell Shumate, county clerk of Monroe County, West Virginia, during a tape-recorded conversation about the history of the area.

[3]The statistics in this section from the 1980 census were obtained from a U.S. Department of Commerce publication, Characteristics of the Population: West Virginia (August 1982) where this information as well as comparative figures from earlier censuses can be found. The 1970 figures come from the same publication, dated January 1973.

[4]The Shawneetown Hills in southern Illinois are sometimes included as a part of the Ozarks Region.

[5]The designation "Ozarkian" was preferred over "Ozarker" by the natives interviewed on this subject.

[6]This characterization of the Ozarkian sense of place was taken from a tape made for this study by Billy Higgins, a native Ozarkian and the primary fieldworker/interviewer for the Ozark language samples.

[7]This information was recorded in a telephone interview with Mrs. Mickell, Johnson County, Arkansas historian, on May 19, 1984.

[8]The numbers in parentheses serve as an index to the citations from the corpus. "AE" or "OE" identifies which sample the speaker comes from; the number to the left of the colon indicates the speaker identification number; the number to the right of the colon specifies the page number of the typescript on which the cited example occurs.

CHAPTER THREE

VARIATION AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Introduction

If nothing else, the past two decades of variation studies have demonstrated that language change implies language variation of some type. Speakers undergoing change do not simply go to bed one evening with an old form intact and wake up the next morning with a new form firmly in place. On this point, there is apparent agreement among linguists with quite different orientations concerning language change (Bloomfield 1933; Hockett 1965; Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968; Bailey 1973; Wang 1977; Cheng and Wang 1975; Labov 1981; Romaine 1983). The process of this transition, however, is another matter, and there is lively and ongoing debate as to how this change precisely takes place. It is not our goal here to review this debate nor to discuss all the issues that impact on this controversy. Instead, we shall proceed with an assumption that there is an aspect of variation in language change which is orderly and systematic, and briefly present the models for capturing this structured variability. From that point, we prefer to look at the empirical data and examine the actual change in progress to see how consonant the data are with the models. After examining some cases of variable items, we shall return to the question of structured variability in change.

One word of caution must be offered before proceeding, since our focus here is on variation. Although we assume that change implies variation of some type, we do not necessarily assume the converse. The

fact of the matter is that some types of variation may be quite stable in language and the ultimate assignment of all variation to a transitory state, whether rapid or delayed, is a premature assumption. Most of the variable items we examine here are probably undergoing change, but we cannot simply assume this to be the case. There are other reasons why items may be variable (e.g. natural physiological or psychological) apart from language change. Language change may be a major reason for variation, but it is not the sole one.

From a sociolinguistic vantage point, two basic models of variation and change typically have been been considered. Although the models are sometimes aligned along the dimension of qualitative and quantitative differences, researchers (e.g. Fasold 1970) have shown that this is not necessarily the case, and an adequate model will have to consider both dimensions. Nonetheless, there are some aspects of variation in language change which organize themselves along a qualitiative dimension others that seem to be structured primarily along a quantitative dimension. As an introduction to our consideration of the empirical data, we shall briefly present an overview of these models. We will have more to say about them as we consider the data in the following chapters, and then return to them in our conclusion.

Implicational Analysis

A relationship of implication in the context of variation in language involves the existence of one form "implying" another, within some specified domain. Such a relation holds between two forms when one of them (B) is always present when the other (A) is found but not vice versa. This relationship can be symbolized as $A \supset B$ (A implies B). The

use of the term "form" is intended to cover a variety of phenonmena, since a relation in language can hold at any level, including rules, classes of forms, environments for a rule, and so on. In a two-valued system, which distinguishes presence (1) or absence (0) of a form, this relationship would be indicated in data which conformed to the following display:

A	B
0	0
0	1
1	1

According to this display, it is possible for neither A nor B to occur for both to occur, or for B but not A to occur. The occurrence of A without B is contrary to this implicational relationship and would be considered deviant to this pattern. If more than two items are implicationally related (thus increasing the number of columns), all ones to the right of a one and all zeros to the left of the zero would be expected in any given row to conform to the pattern. The horizontal dimension of a table like this one in linguistics usually consists of speakers who have produced the forms, either in groups or individuals. The difference between analysis by groups and by individuals has been somewhat of a controversial topic, but we adopt Anshen's (1975:7) view here:

> that individual behavior is interesting and important to study, that group behavior is interesting and important to study and that the latter may not be a direct reflection of the former.

Due to inherent problems in attempting to classify linguistically variable items in a binary way, three, and, subsequently, many valued

implicational charts have been proposed (Fasold 1970). In a three valued scale, variable usage is admitted in addition to categorical presence and absence, most often represented as X, 1, and 0 respectively. In this case, the "ideal" chart would contain in a given row only ones to the right of the 1, only zeros to the left of the zero, and X's only in between instances of one and zero. Thus a row in such a chart could look like this:

0 0 X X X 1 1

but not like this:

0 X X 1 X 1 0

The many-valued scale usually involves percentages or some other graded representation of the data and ideally adheres to the principle that values to the right of a given figure should be larger and those to the left should be smaller (or vice versa). The many-valued scale places the greatest requirements on the data for conformity to the patterns.

Implicational analysis is relevant to studies of language sensitive to social, geographical, and temporal differences. The model seems to be particularly productive as a means for examining the continuum relationship of varieties of English. For example, consider the following hypothetical situation (Table 3.1) in which we identify standard English (SE), Northern White Nonstandard English (NWNS), Ozark English (OE), Appalachian English (AE), Southern White Non-Standard English (SWNS), and Vernacular Black English (VBE), and characterize the usage of four items in a linguistic set (A,B,C,D). Setting up the data in this way, we have a principled basis for examining the extent to which OE and AE may differ. In our comparison of AE and OE, a structure such as irregular verbs will be considered in detail from this vantage point.

	Linguistic Items			
Variety	A	B	C	D
SE	0	0	0	0
NWNS	0	0	0	X
SWNS	0	0	X	1
OE	0	X	1	1
AE	X	1	1	1
VBE	1	1	1	1

Table 3.1. Hypothetical Implicational Array for Variation in English

The second reason for investigating implicational relationships relates to language change. One way of observing various stages in the process of change and the steps that precede and follow a given stage is to look at the implicational relationships. For example, consider the three broad stages in the loss of the temporal-locative preposition with the -ing participle (e.g. he is on hunting —> He is a-hunting —> He is hunting), where the preposition becomes a prefix a-, and then is lost. For illustrative purposes, we can set up two different environments for these forms, where E1 and E2 represent the environments and P = preposition, A = the a-prefix, and 0 = no prefix or preposition. The chart is given in Table 3.2.

The implicational relationships in Table 3.2, which realistically involve three variants in two environments, represent the changes of the item through time. Based on historical documentation (cf. Jespersen 1933) and our current study, virtually all of the stages can be verified, and the sequential progression of the change through these steps established. In our study, implicational relationships based on

Stage of Development	E1	E2
Stage 1	P	P
Stage 2	A/P	P
Stage 3	A	P/A
Stage 4	A/0	A
Stage 5	0	A/0
Stage 6	0	0

Table 3.2. Stages of Language Change for Preposition, a-, and 0 Preceding Participle

real time differences can be supplemented by data from different age groups in different dialects to give us important insights into how language is changing in OE and AE. This "apparent time" dimension can give us a synchronic micro-view of a diachronic process. The inclusion of between-speaker and between-dialect implicational relations in a dynamic framework allows for an understanding of the progression of the change in relation to previous and future stages as the change is carried to completion.

While the implicational model has some obvious advantanges, there are issues that need to be scrutinized on the basis of the empirical facts. These issues bear on the validity of the model itself. For example, we must examine the extent to which all the stages are inevitable in the progression of change. Are there conditions under which certain stages may be by-passed, and are there "plateau" stages vis-a-vis "transitional" stages? Are the stages presumed to be equidistant or can the model tolerate quantum as well as miniscule leaps? This question also impacts on the use of the model as a comparative measure in determining dialect distance synchronically. There are, then, a

number of issues to be confronted on the basis of data such as those considered in this study.

Frequency Relationships

The second approach to the study of structured variability is inherently tied to quantitative studies. Quantitative differences are expressed in various ways by indications of greater and lesser usage; one speaker or group uses a feature more than another, or a feature is used more or less often in the presence of another linguistic form than elsewhere. Numerous studies have demonstrated that variability in language is not random (Labov 1969; Wolfram 1969, 1974; Fasold 1972; Guy 1980, etc.), and that it may be sensitive to social factors (age, gender, social status, and so on) and linguistic structure (linguistic environment, category, function, and so on). The systematic effect of these social and linguistic factors on linguistic variability is the touchstone of much of the current investigation of different varieties of English.

A widely studied variable phenomenon, word-final consonant cluster reduction, demonstrates how such variability structures along these dimensions. It is shown that the last member of a consonant cluster (a final stop member which shares a voicing specification with the other member(s) of the cluster to be exact) is variably deleted, so that the final /t/ in best or the final /d/ in wind is not produced, giving pronunciations such as /bɛs/ and /wɪn/ respectively. Systematic influences on the frequency of this type of cluster reduction include both linguistic and social factors. Linguistic effects include the following environment, where a consonant (e.g. best kind) favors reduction over

vowel (e.g. best apple) and grammatical function, where a monomorphemic cluster (e.g. best, wind) favors reduction over a bimorphemic cluster (e.g. guessed, lined). Social factors affecting the relative frequency of the form include social status, ethnicity, style, and so forth.

The empirical findings concerning the systematic effects of a range of linguistic and extra-linguistic variables seem indisputable, but there remain many unresolved issues concerning the incorporation of such systematic constraints in a language grammar (assuming that they can be incorporated), including the form of the rules, the relationship of linguistic and extra-linguistic constraints in such rules, the separation of language-specific and universal effects, the hierarchizing of effects, and kinds of legitimate motivations for rule formulations (cf. Bailey 1973; Cedergren and Sankoff 1974; Fasold 1978, 1984; Sankoff 1978; Romaine 1980; Kay and McDaniel 1979; Wolfram 1972, 1974; among others). We will not consider these many issues here, but simply note that the basic discovery of systematic effects on variability does not appear to be a major contention. The regularity of the linguistic and extra-linguistic constraints stands upon a solid empirical foundation of replication volume.

The study of frequency relationships also involves a dynamic component, in that relationships of more and less may be correlated with relationships of earlier and later in a time frame (cf. Bailey 1973). Thus, a variable change initiated in one environment (E1) will reveal a higher frequency level of a new variant than an environment in which the change was initiated later (E2). This environment will, in turn, reveal a higher frequency than the next environment (E3), and so on. Using X to signify the new variant, and Y to signify the old variant, we may set up

a hypothetical change from the use of an old variant to a new one as follows:

Stage	Environment		
	E1	E2	E3
Stage 1	Y	Y	Y
Stage 2	X/Y	Y	Y
Stage 3	X/Y	X/Y	Y
Stage 4	X/Y	X/Y	X/Y
Stage 5	X	X/Y	X/Y
Stage 6	X	X	X/Y
Stage 7	X	X	X

Table 3.3. Hypothetical Progression of Variability in a Time Frame

In such a relationship, variability between X and Y will be seen in relationship to the notion of earlier and later changes, so that the frequency of X in E1 will exceed that in E2 and the frequency in E2 will exceed that in E3 (for instance, at stage 4) until the change is carried out to categoricality; that is, until X has reached 100 per cent in all environments. The same kind of relationship might be set up in terms of social variables, so that the symbols for the E's might just as easily represent three different social designations (e.g. class, gender, etc) in the process of adopting variant X. Frequency relationships can be readily reconciled with the implicational model presented above (cf. Bailey 1973; Fasold 1970), with implicational relations governing relationships of more and less as well as absence, presence, and simple optionality.

There are a number of issues that arise from the interpretation of frequency relationships in a dynamic framework, some of which have been elucidated by Fasold (1973), Bailey (1973) Labov (1972a;1982) and Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner (1972), among others. The orderly progression of stages is a matter of considerable concern, since there are apparent conditions (cf. Bailey 1973; Fasold 1972) under which "acceleration" takes place, in which the frequency levels of a later environment overtake an earlier one. Furthermore, the role of the lexical item versus systematic linguistic classes in variation is an issue of continuing concern, as "lexical diffusion" confronts the "neogrammarian hypothesis" (Labov 1982; Vaughn-Cooke 1976). And the nature of change at its inception and termination points is of considerable interest as it compares with the intermittent stages. There are, then, a number of issues that arise related to the study of frequency relationships in a dynamic framework. Some of these questions will be addressed as we consider the empirical data that evolve from our comparative study of AE and OE as systems undergoing change.

In the following chapters, we shall examine both qualitative and quantitative dimensions of language forms, as we consider both implicational and frequency relationships. The chapter on a-prefixing will exemplify the detailed examination of frequency relationships as they impact on the changing systems, and the chapters on irregular verbs and subject-verb concord show in detail how implicational analysis reveals orderly relationships and change. Prior to these discussions, however, we will turn to the consideration of two features shared by AE and OE that lend themselves best to a qualitative description of their usage,

completive done and the personal dative construction. All of the structures we will be discussing are found in both AE and OE, and we will investigate how both qualitative and quantitative aspects of their usage bring to light the degree of relatedness between these varieties and provide insight into the process of language change.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASPECTS OF THE AUXILIARY

Introduction

The auxiliary of English allows a variety of subtle and rather complex distinctions affecting the interpretation of the time reference for the sentence as well as the dimensions of completion, possibility, obligation and so on. (At this point "auxiliary" is used in its traditional sense to cover the part of the surface verb phrase that includes tense, the modals and auxiliaries *have*, *be* and *do*.) Recent treatments of the English auxiliary have been primarily concerned with questions like: is there a category of AUX in the grammar of English or are all elements of the traditional category actually verbs in the grammar? (Ross 1969; Peterson 1974; Pullum and Wilson 1977; Akmajian, Steele and Wasow 1979). Others have taken a semantic and/or pragmatic perspective to consider how time reference is accomplished through the marking of tense and aspect (Langacker 1978; Lapointe 1980) by elements of the auxiliary.

For the most part, these accounts have dealt with the same set of facts. These facts reflect the behavior of tense, a set of modals, the auxiliaries *have* of perfect aspect, progressive *be* and, in some cases, passive *be*, as they combine to form verb phrases in Standard English. In certain accounts, facts about different dialects have been included, and have served as evidence in the argumentation. The differences are primarily those of British and American usage, including the status of main verb *have* in certain constructions like questions (British *Have*

they any money? vs. American Do they have any money?) and the use of do as a proform (British I haven't read that article yet but I suppose I should have done vs. American I suppose I should have).

Thus consideration of dialect forms in accounts of English syntax is not without precedence. In this section, we will discuss another set of facts about English, features shared by AE and OE, which may bear on the account of the English auxiliary. A number of varieties include elements that have been called "quasi-modals", among other terms; these include items like liketa in I liketa died, useta in I useta didn't have a car, non-participle done in I done forgot, and constructions like double modals in I might could do it. All of these have an impact on the constituents of the verb phrase and may need to be considered in a full treatment of the auxiliary.

The forms under consideration are found in both AE and OE, as well as some other southern-based non-mainstream varieties. Most of the discussion to follow will concentrate on non-participle done, but we will return to the larger set of forms mentioned above in a later section.

Non-participle done

The use of done outside of the participle paradigm has been noticed in treatments of several varieties of English, particularly those associated currently or historically with the South. As with most cases of syntactic exploration based on observed data, the usual problems arise, particularly in terms of relatively infrequent occurrence of the construction. However, our sample had enough examples (78 total) to allow an investigation of the usage, and it was supplemented by informal

observations and judgments of acceptability by native speakers from the area. We can note here that the majority of instances were produced by the AE speakers (68 out of the 78 total), a fact we will return to later. The following discussion will consider the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic characteristics of done, all of which prove to be essential in developing an adequate portrayal of the use of this form. The question of done's syntactic classification will be dealt with in some detail, since it turns out to be a problematic issue.

The feature in question is the use of done in constructions like those given in (1).

1.a. They done run seven days a week. (OE 33:7)

b. And the doctor done give him up, said he's got pneumonia. (AE 22:12)

c. Them old half gentle ones has all done disappeared. (OE 41a:51)

d. ...because the one that was in there had done rotted. (AE 35:21)

e. I said, "Well, they're done sold, Ray." (OE 40:36)

f. We thought he was done gone. (AE 51:11)

g. If she had, she woulda done left me a long time ago. (AE 30:29)

The pattern which the usage of done typically follows can be seen in the examples cited in (1). It can occur alone with a past form of the verb, as in (1a,b) or it can intervene in a complex verb phrase which consists of an auxiliary and a main verb, including a modal, as in (1c-g). (1g) was, however, the only instance of done preceded by an auxiliary other than forms of have or be.

Some investigators have specified a more restricted context for the distribution of this marker, for example, that it is only followed by

the past participial form of a verb. However, in these data from AE and OE, the existence of pairs like the utterances in (2) would seem to make such a restriction unsuitable, since both the preterit and past participial forms of take are found in construction with done.

2.a. ... and then she done taken two courses again. (AE 83:7)

b. ... she done took the baby away from her. (AE 159:38)

The distinction can only be maintained with the irregular verbs of English, since, for the regular verbs, the two past forms are identical. Since the preterit and past participial forms of irregular verbs often change functions in AE and OE, a precise identification of the grammatical function of the verb form being used with done becomes even more difficult. For instance, for the verb take found in (2), the forms took and taken were each observed to be used both as a preterit and as a past participle. We also find cases like I seen as simple past and I have saw for past participle (Chapter Seven provides complete details on irregular verb usage).

On the other hand, it could be argued that all forms are past participial (since what are standard forms of the simple past might in fact be participles in AE and OE), with the have auxiliary deleted when it does not appear. (Have-deletion does occur elsewhere; see Chapter Seven.) Such an interpretation would claim that (3a) is derived from (3b) through the phonological process of have deletion.

3.a. I done forgot some of them stories. (AE 49:19)

b. I have done forgot some of them stories.

While some cases of done probably occur within verb phrases that have undergone have deletion, this is not a valid account for all instances for several reasons. First, we can observe that done also occurs with

an auxiliary other than have, as in (4):

4.a. So they got down there and called back and Connie was done gone. (AE 77:13)

b. ...the difference in the taste of an old slop hog and one done fed good. (OE 41a:12)

(In (4b), the auxiliary be form has been deleted through a normal syntactic process; the underlying form would be ...one which was done fed good.) Thus, an explanation of done cannot rest solely on its co-occurrence wth have and little would be gained by positing widespread have-deletion. Secondly, there are some examples in the data in which a grmmatically perfective construction could not be substituted, due to the surrounding context, as in (5):

5. They let her up the second day and when she come home the next day she done had the fever. That's what you call the childbed fever. (AE 22:17)

In (5), it is clear that when the woman in question arrived at home she still had the fever. (This is further confirmed by the fact that the speaker goes on to tell about going back to the hospital for medicine). This would not be a possible reading if the clause was she had (done) had the fever since the perfective auxiliary would indicate that having the fever temporally preceded the activity in the when - clause. (And has is not feasible either). It seems then that the number of contexts in which done is permitted is not reducible to one, with phonological rules giving different surface constructions. The appropriate generalization appears to be simply that done is normally associated with a past form of the main verb which may have a preterit or a past participial function. The presence or absence of the auxiliary (have or be) would serve as a cue to discriminate between the functions.

Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects of done

We can turn now to a consideration of the semantics and pragmatics of done's usage, since observations in those areas will be relevant to further discussion of the syntax. Most previous studies of done have dealt mainly with describing what it means, either in terms of synonymy with some other lexical item or its effect on the interpretation of the action of the verb phrase. (Labov 1972b, 1981) proposes that a disjunctive meaning is required to account for this form. One component is the "perfective" sense, that in which it most "normally" occurs and is the equivalent of have. This is the use in which it corresponds most closely to already. The second use of done is its intensive meaning, where it corresponds to really. In most cases, Labov maintains, these two meaning converge, but occasionally one sense occurs without the other. In addition, Labov more recently comments on cases where neither meaning is appropriate, cases which he says are interpretable only on the discourse level, as a derivative of the intensive meaning (Labov 1981b). Hackenberg (1972:150) speaks of done in Appalachian English as perfective, with the sense of "already". Feagin, in an extensive examination of done in Alabama concludes that it carries the meaning "completed action" (1979:141) and also acts as an intensifier.

One further treatment of done is relevant to the following discussion. Scott (1973) approaches the description of verb forms in Vernacular Black English varieties from a strictly semantic viewpoint. "Pre-verbal done", in the system she sets forth, functions to indicate completion as a "focus marker" (1973:143), interacting with other factors in the system such as temporal aspects. In conjunction with these other factors, certain co-occurrence restrictions are then explained in

terms of semantic incompatibility, in that the completive force of done cannot be combined with forms that carry a feature of incompletion for semantic reasons.

Thus, we see that done is generally thought to relate to perfectivity in some way and to be the equivalent (or nearly) of auxiliary have in standard English. Of course, in the AE and OE data, there are a number of examples where the perfective have is itself realized, but it could be assumed that done then simply redundantly expresses (or as Feagin maintains, intensifies) the perfective force of the have, much in the same way that the participle verb ending that is associated with it does.

6.a. I was scared to death after I done stepped on it. (AE 164:15)

b. Well, we went down there to see him in June and the doctor done give him up, said he's got pneumonia... (AE 22:12)

c. I done forgot it. (OE 32:21)

In the examples in (6), and others like these, the substitution of have for done seems to give a fairly close approximation of the meaning of the sentence, and it was undoubtedly such sentences that led other investigators to the above conclusion. As Langacker observes (1978:865), the perfective have construction "predicates the existence of a state resulting from the completion of the occurrence of a process." So, in (6a), we might say the state of stepping on something existed when the speaker was scared. However, in our data, there are environments where have and done are clearly not equivalent, as seen above in (5) in the discussion of have-deletion, and others, also seen previously, where done follows an auxiliary other than have. When a range of environments such as those in our sample are considered, then,

an equivalence with _have_ does not provide an accurate account of _done's_ meaning.

A similar situation exists with those investigators who claim that _done_ corresponds to _already_. Again there are some contexts where the pair of sentences would be very much alike in meaning, as in (7).

7.a. If I'd do the laundry, she'd do the laundry, you know, go back and do the same thing over again that I _done_ ironed and put away. (AE 36:15)

b. I reckon she's _done_ sold it. (AE 153:32)

c. One of them's _done_ got there. (OE 41a:27)

However, there are also a large number of examples where this is not the case:

8.a. Oh, he liketa had a fit. He said, "My god, you _done_ killed that man's horse." (AE 146:8)

b. We thought well we can sit back and enjoy our labor of the years gone by since the children had done left home. (AE 37:16)

c. Where was I? You _done_ made me forget! (AE 151:6)

d. I better quit now before I've _done_ talked my head off. (OE 36:26)

Here the semantic facts bear a relationship to the reasons why this might have appeared to be a reasonable hypothesis. _Already_ indicates something like previously, in the sense, very roughly speaking, of prior to the present or some other specified time. This is illustrated in the sentences of (9):

9.a. I reckon she's _already_ sold it. (prior to now)

b. When you arrive, the food will _already_ be there. (prior to future time).

When _already_ refers to some past time, as in (9a) it is possible for it to look similar to _done_ (cf. (7b)) and it bears a meaning very similar to

the perfective. This does not happen when already refers to a non-past time, as (9b), though. In addition, as we saw in (8), there are numerous cases of done with past forms of a verb where already cannot be considered even roughly equivalent. It seems then, that the apparent similarity of done to already is due to the latter's reference to past time when it interacts with a past form of a verb rather than any real correspondence between their inherent meanings.

The account offered here follows the proposal of Scott (1973) in maintaining that the distinctiveness of done lies in its completive aspect. The motivation for this conclusion comes mainly from evidence of the type Scott calls semantic incompatibility in her discussion of done's non-occurrence with certain types of verb phrases, specifically what she calls the continuative forms and the habitual non-continuative (Scott 1973:143). Thus, we can provide semantic correlates to the distribution facts previously noted, in that done cannot be paired with a tense or aspect that would not allow a completive interpretation for the verb phrase. This is shown in the unacceptability of sentences with future, present, or progressive forms of verbs, as in (10):

10.a. I'll (*done) finish this letter later.

b. I'll go to the store when I (*done) finish this letter.

c. I didn't know it then but I was (*done) stepping on a snake.

In the last example, the progressive form prevents a completive aspect, even though a past time is indicated. This factor can be isolated as the determining one since otherwise semantically, the sentence is acceptable as seen when the progressive is replaced.

11. I didn't know it then, but I (had) done stepped on a snake.

Another bit of evidence for the completive meaning comes from co-occurrence restriction with certain adverbials. Adverbs like always, usually, often, generally, normally, etc., modify the verb phrase in part with an incompletive or continuative sense, making them incompatible with done, as we see in (12):

12.a. He always (*done) ate everything in sight.

b. She has always (*done) eaten everything in sight.

c. They often (*done) forgot their lunch.

d. They had generally (*done) paid their bills on time.

A set of adverbs which would also appear to be excluded in these structures are those which overtly signify incompletion, of the type of almost, nearly, just about, etc. Although none of these occur in the present data, it may be possible to use them to qualify the completeness aspect of done, given that sentences like (13) are probably at least marginally acceptable.

13. He (?done) almost fell down two flights of stairs.

It is fairly easy to imagine a context in which (13) could be used by an AE or OE speaker. Feagin (1979) has one example of this in White Alabama English in:

14. I done 'bout forgot.

and comments that this may be a way to hedge on or to qualify done. With only this one example, though, it is impossible to draw any conclusions on how extensive the possibilities of qualifying the completive meaning might be.

Finally, verbs which are non-completive in nature also are generally unacceptable in a construction with done. This is illustrated in (15):

15.a. She (*done) was happy to hear the news.

b. They had (*done) seemed upset.

c. I (*done) wanted to finish that book last night.

d. They (*done) happened to be at the theater when we arrived.

This appears to be the same sort of relationship as that between stative verbs and other grammatical constructions as pointed out by Lakoff (1970). However, as in those co-occurrence limitations (Sag 1973), there also appear to be exceptions, again our example cited in (5), repeated here:

5. ...and when she come home the next day, she done had the fever. (AE 22:17)

Here, the main verb have would seem to work against getting a completive reading with done, but what happens instead is that done in some way forces a completiveness onto have. In (5) the focus appears to be on getting the sickness, or the beginning of the process of having it, which was over, rather than on having it, which was ongoing, at the time being referred to. Thus, a possible generalization is that done cannot occur with verbs that are in some way anti-completive, but may be used with verbs that have a potential completive component which is then reinforced.

A further consideration in describing any language phenomena involves viewing it from a functional perspective. That is, why would a speaker choose to encode it in a particular utterance (over and above syntactic and semantic aspects which may limit the choice) and what work does it accomplish there? We can observe in most, if not all of our examples, a grammatical sentence, with similar meaning if done is left out. In order to look at this aspect, such factors as the role of

speaker intentions and assumptions are given attention. This section will deal briefly with one facet of how done seems to be functioning pragmatically in AE and OE, with a suggestion for how this may tie in with the syntactic and semantic characteristics of its usage.

An observation that can be made about the examples in our data is that often, if not always, done appears to carry some emphasis with it. That is most obvious in narratives, where such devices are frequent, as in (16):

16.a. She opened the oven door to put her bread in to bake it and there set the cat. Hide done busted off his skull and fell down and his meat just come off'n his bones. (AE 31:25)

b. That's when they had the big flood. He just runned it down. You shoulda seen him coming out of there. We thought he was done gone. Just straight down, too. (AE 51:11)

The emphatic effect is also present in some non-narrative contexts, as in (17):

17.a. When I was a boy, if you seen a woman's knee, you had done seen something and now you can just see anything they've got. (AE 31:15)

b. ... and then the next thing you know she's done throwed herself plumb to the dogs. Well, once when she puts herself to the dogs it's harder for a woman to pull herself back than it is a man. (AE 30:29)

c. They've done set them three, four, five times probably, in pine, and still haven't got a stand. (OE 36:24)

The problem with dealing with a notion like emphasis is that it resists precise description in terms of how it is accomplished (i.e. its correlation with stress, intonation and/or certain grammatical processes) and how it functions. Hooper and Thompson (1973) maintain that emphasis can be given only to an asserted clause. They further show that certain transformations (taken from Emonds 1971) which serve

to make a sentence more emphatic apply not only to main clauses but also to certain embedded clauses. Prior to this, it had to be assumed that only main clauses could be asserted, with questions, negation and all embedded clauses excluded. Hooper and Thompson argue that with certain verbs, which they call "assertive predicates", the clauses embedded under them are infact asserted and they use emphasis in their argumentation. Green (1974b), however, argues that emphatic constructions do not all occur within assertions as defined by Hooper and Thompson. Their distribution is, instead, "determined pragmatically, not structurally or even semantically in the logician's sense" (Green 1974b:190). The possibility of using an emphatic device depends on the speaker's intentions and assumptions, in particular with respect to certainty about or agreement with the proposition involved. In other words, it is unlikely that speakers would use a device to make a proposition more emphatic if they are uncertain about its validity.

These observations can be examined as they might apply to done as an emphatic device. A substantial number of the propositions containing done are clearcut assertions (non-interrogative, non-negative, non-embedded clauses). Of the 78 examples from our sample, 55 fall into this category, a striking majority. We must note here, however, that the nature of the data collection process may well have some bearing on this tabulation, since the speakers, as interviewees, would have less chance to use interrogatives. They would, however, be expected to use negative and embedded constructions normally. An additional 10 instances of done are found in embedded clauses of the type Hooper and Thompson (1973) would call "assertive", with higher predicates like say, think, reckon, as in (18).

(18)a. Fieldworker: I was thinking about buying that old car of hers.
Subject: I reckon she's done sold it. (AE 153:32)

b. I think they done took it. (OE 28:5)

Green's (1974b) refinement of the Hooper and Thompson treatment of assertion seems to be the right direction to take on this issue, so it should be noted that the nine examples referred to above would also fit her criterion with respect to the speaker's assumptions of certainty or validity. For example, in (18a), the subject's main proposition appears to be the assertion that the car has been sold, the certainty of which is hedged on slightly with I reckon, but the proposition is assumed to be fairly certain.

The remaining 13 occurrences of done are found in subordinate clauses of other types, which would not be considered as asserting their proposition within the framework proposed by Hooper and Thompson. Green (1974b), on the other hand, points out that attempting to fit every emphatic clause into the category of assertion might well destroy the integrity of that category. It seems that, although this last group of done clauses are perhaps non-assertive, they are at least candidates for emphasis. The majority of these are adverbial clauses of time and reason and are, of course, referring to past time because of the other factors involved in the use of done. Green's proposal seems applicable here in suggesting how done may be used emphatically in these cases. The use of such an adverbial points to something which simply precedes (time) or precedes and is causally related to (reason) the main proposition of the utterance. If the main proposition is an assertion, which it is in each case, the speaker's level of certainty with respect to the adverbial would seem to be quite high and since done contributes to the

past completion aspect, this might explain how done can be used emphatically in such non-assertions. Examples from this category are:

19. a. (time) And I said Bobby, now if you'll just throw another one right in on top of that one, after you done vomited, I says, it never will make you sick anymore. So he throwed him another chew and by God he liketa died on that thing. (AE 146:24)

b. (time) I better quit now before I've done talked my head off. (OE 36:26)

c. (reason) We had to tear out the floor winter before last in the kitchen and put in a whole new floor because the one that was in there had done rotted. (AE 35:21)

An original motivation for looking at done with respect to emphasis came from the fact that our data contain no instances in which it occurs in questions or negative utterances. This is a further argument for the emphatic use of done. Feagin (1979), however, reports that her data do in fact show questions (both with and without subject-auxiliary inversion--Had you done seen this? You done paid yet?), tag questions (The son had done left, hadn't he?), and negatives (only one instance). This may indicate that this pragmatic aspect of done is optional; that is, the speaker may choose to use done emphatically or not, depending on what assumptions are held about the proposition being expressed.

What has been suggested so far, then, is the following: the semantic properties of done indicate that it has a completive meaning and this would account for certain of its co-occurrence restrictions. In addition, it appears that done is generally, if not always, used with an emphatic or intensifying function which determines its higher compatibility with assertions than with other clause types. Now we can go back to the syntactic characteristics and see if there is a classification and syntactic account that fits these properties.

Syntactic Properties of done

As Labov observes (1972b:56), done has "lost its status as a verb" in the usage described above. It is uninflected for any tense marking or agreement, occurring before a verb which is inflected (with or without a preceding inflected auxiliary). Grammatical classifications that have been proposed include that of "quasi-modal" (Labov et al 1968), "pre-verbal" form (Dillard 1972; Scott 1973) and adverb (Labov 1972b; Feagin 1979; Elgin 1983). Since simply labelling done as a "pre-verbal" form makes no real formal claims that can be tested, we will examine only the modal and adverb classifications. Because of done's position in the verb phrase and its morphological properties, these two classifications would appear to be likely candidates.

Considering first the modal possibility we can observe a similarity--neither modals nor done occur in non-finite clauses, i.e. *I want to can play the piano (to be able to play the piano); *I wanted to done leave/left. It would also be instructive to examine instances of questions and negative sentences. However, there are no examples in our data of done occurring in such structures and it appears that these are not allowable combinations for either AE or OE speakers. If these combinations are allowed, it seems unlikely that done would behave like a modal in those situations, i.e., in inverting for questions and having the negative particle follow it. We would not expect, for example, to find cases like those in (20) where done is shown in the position a modal would take:

20.a. *Done they finished their work?

b. *They done not finished their work.

In Feagin's data from Alabama, as we mentioned earlier, there are a few

instances of questions and negatives with done. In all of the examples cited which involve inversion for questions or contain a negative, the have auxiliary is present as well, as in (21a,b) and for questions that do not contain have, no inversion takes place, as in (21c):

21.a. Has he done come back?

b. I carry it if somebody hadn't done got it.

c. What's the matter? You done tuck up some cold?
(from Feagin 1979)

The example in (21c) might be an instance of auxiliary deletion which often occurs with questions in informal English. In any case done does not behave like a modal with respect to subject-auxiliary inversion or negation, if it can occur in such constructions at all.

Done does not govern a particular form of the verb following it, as a modal or auxiliary would. The fact that the overwhelming number of cases in our data involve a past form seems to stem from independent syntactic and semantic considerations rather than a relationship of government. In all our examples, the verb phrases fits the AE/OE system syntactically when the done is removed, whether a single verb form in the past remains or certain modals or auxiliaries are present in addition to the verb. (This is again taking into account the variations found in the irregular verbs mentioned before.) In addition, modals precede auxiliaries in surface verb phrases of English, and done follows the auxiliary when one is present. As this type of evidence builds up, it would appear to be a hard task to justify formally the classification of done as a modal in English, given its different behavior from other members of that class.

On the other hand, there is no real convincing evidence that would point to the appropriateness of considering done to be an adverb, except for some vague notion of modification of the verb phrase in which it occurs. Syntactically, it does not display the distributional privileges that various types of adverbials show. For example, adverbs can typically be moved away from the verb phrase to another part of the sentence, as in (22):

22.a. They quickly put out the fire.

b. They put out the fire quickly.

c. Quickly, they put out the fire.

Done, however, cannot be moved to any position other than the one it occupies in the verb phrase as in the sentences in (1) above. It is never fronted or relocated outside the clause in which it originates. There are, of course, a few adverbs which display similarly restricted distributions; for example, just (They just sent the letter, but not *They sent the letter just or *Just they sent the letter). If done were to be considered as an adverb, it would have to be handled in the same way that these other exceptional adverbs are.

Another difference in behavior between done and adverbs is found in reduced clauses. Most adverbs seem to occur relatively freely in such clauses, as in (23):

23.a. John is believed to have quietly left town.

b. They seem to have almost gotten away.

c. Judy's having already left surprised me.

There are no such occurrences of done in our data, nor are any cited by either Feagin (1979) or Hackenberg (1972). It therefore seems likely that sentences like those in (24) would be unacceptable:

24.a. ?(*) John is believed to have done left town.

b. ?(*) They seem to have done got(ten) away.

c. ?(*) Judy's having done left surprised me.

We see in (24) that done, unlike adverbs, is probably restricted to unreduced clauses, since for sentences like those, it is not semantically ruled out, as shown in (25):

25.a. I believe that John (has) done left town.

b. It seems like they ('ve) done got(ten) away.

c. It surprised me that Judy (had) done left.

Thus, we see that neither modal nor adverb is a very satisfying label for done. We will, however, adopt the stance of those who have termed it a "quasi-modal," since the members of the group of modals and quasi-modals form a restricted set which can be listed, and all of them are closely tied to the verb phrase and have similar kinds of occurrence restrictions. Quasi-modals differ from true modals in various aspects of their behavior, such as lack of inversion with subjects in question constructions. Within this category, done can be considered as a special marker within the tense and aspect systems of AE and OE. The semantic characteristics would then be reflected formally as the form would specifically mark the past completion of an action or event. As Wolfram and Fasold observe, done is "an additional perfective construction in some nonstandard dialects, not a substitute for present perfect tense in SE [standard English] but in addition to it." (1974:152). The fact that it is not a substitute for any tense in Standard English can be seen in the following acceptable done sentences where it interacts with each of the possible tenses (having a past involved):

28.a. She (done) sold it at noon yesterday.

b. She has (done) sold it by now.

c. She had (done) sold it by the time I got there.

The time adverbs in each sentence are highly limited in their co-occurrence with tenses and their inclusion above shows that the addition of done does not alter the restrictions that hold between the tenses and time adverbs. Done instead adds a completive force and its accompanying emphasis to the tense/aspect frame invoked. Done does, of course, impose some additional restrictions on various co-occurrences due to its semantic characteristic of completiveness.

Current treatments of the syntax of the English auxiliary differ on whether or not a category AUX is to be included in underlying structure. Pullum and Wilson (1977) exclude it, putting tense in the COMP node and having modals, have, be and do auxiliaries all generated in the same way as verbs. Akmajian et al (1979) on the other hand, maintain the category AUX, including in it tense, do, and modals, but list have and be auxiliaries in the same way as verbs. This is obviously a grossly over-simplified statement of their positions but it provides the basis for several comments about done.

Given the underlying structures proposed by either account, what is needed for AE speakers who use done might be provided through certain adjustments in the schema. Aspect marking (perfect, progressive, possibly passive) originates in underlying structure as verbs which combine to provide surface distinctions. What may be happening in the varieties with done is that another surface distinction of aspect, expressed by a quasi-modal, is possible. This might be accounted for by another verb node, in underlying structure, between perfective have and

the lexical or main verb, which could be called completive done. In this way, I done forgot would involve a past tense with completive done; I've done forgot would be non-past tense, perfective have and completive done. The basic mechanisms of either version would remain intact. In the Pullum and Wilson (1977) system, modals are generated in the same way as have and verbs, so a quasi-modal would fit in well. The Akmajian et al (1979) account, however, separates modals from have and verbs by placing them in the category AUX; within that framework, we would have to assume that done's being a "quasi-"modal would allow it to occur outside the AUX category, or devise some ad hoc way of incorporating it into the verb phrase in the appropriate position.

The model for done suggested above would allow for the expression of an additional distinction in aspect, but there would be a rigorous set of qualifications that would need to accompany it. The additional node would have the advantage of distinguishing the underlying structures of sentences with past perfect and those with done and simple past. As we have seen earlier, sentences like those in (27) are not equivalent.

27.a. I done killed three ground squirrels (today).

b. I had killed three ground squirrels (*today).

Since they are non-synonymous (note the difference in acceptability with a time adverb), they should differ in their underlying representation. Also, the past perfect requires a reference point in the past to refer to while the simple past does not; its reference point for pastness is the present. Done is independent of this issue; it can occur with both.

As mentioned earlier, however, done would require extensive subcategorization conditions to define well-formed structures containing it. It cannot occur in non-finite clauses; it cannot co-occur with the

progressive; and its coocurrence with true modals is at best extremely limited. If we maintain that done is a quasi-modal, this last characteristic may be accounted for. Sequences of modals are rare in AE and OE (and are typically considered to be prohibited in Standard English). Multiple modals (such as might could, might should) do occur in some southern non-mainstream varieties of English (Feagin 1979) but they are not observed in the samples of AE and OE under discussion here. The fact that done, as a quasi-modal, seldom is paired with another modal, might be attributable to this pattern. We saw earlier a number of other co-occurrence restrictions that would have to be met as well. In addition, unlike other forms of this type, done would not determine the form of the following verb nor would it be affected by the requirements of the preceding verb. For instance, perfective have governs the placement of the past participle marker on the verb embedded under it. Modals require the bare root form of a verb to follow them. Done, on the other hand, appears to be transparent with respect to such processes. Since the verb phrase in which done occurs is unchanged by its presence, the placement of verbal markers would seem to "pass over" done when it intervenes, so that the marker that is governed by the element above it (either past tense or the past participle for have) ends up attached to the verb below done.

This formal difference in behavior between done in this treatment and other verbs might argue for the classification of done as an adverb, since, as an adverb, it would not interact with the tenses and their complementizers. However, there would remain other syntactic differences between done and adverbs, such as those discussed earlier. For instance, the fact that done cannot occur in reduced clauses while

adverbs can, would require some form of marking or other mechanism.

It should be clear by now that arriving at a grammatical classification for done is not a straightforward matter. The possibilities include either assigning it to an existing grammatical class (adverb or modal) or creating a new class for this item alone. However, as we have seen, both alternatives appear to result in a non-productive type of classification. If an attempt is made to include done in a group like adverbs, it turns out to be full of exceptions which would require special attention. Semantically more satisfying would be to consider done as a special case within the tense and aspect system. Since it would demand special treatment in terms of its operation within the system, it seems best to consider done to be a quasi-modal, a label which recognizes its special characteristics. Proper procedure suggests that grammatical classification accompany semantic and pragmatic analysis. However, in this instance grammatical classification is not at all straightforward and yet an interesting semantic and pragmatic analysis can be done.

Finally, an historical note is of interest. Done was apparently present in earlier stages in the development of English but disappeared in most varieties. Traugott observes that Middle English "saw the development of a further segmentalization of the perfective, as in I have done gone", surviving only in Northern English, however, after the fifteenth century (1972:146). In addition, at this time, the done did not seem to require a past participle following it. Traugott speaks of the past participle "spreading" to the main verb in late Middle English, and speculates that an "emphasis on the completion" may be involved (1972:193).

These historical facts (Feagin (1979) presents a more extensive list of citations and references for them which will not be reviewed here) may provide support for the present account in the following way (assuming some relation between the form attested above and done in AE and OE). If done originated as an additional component of the perfective aspect as it was developing in the English language, it may have retained its status as an added aspect marker while modifying its privileges of occurrence somewhat in those varieties in which it was preserved. Traugott gives its initial environment as have + PP + do (+PP), indicating that, at first, have done finish was the acceptable form. Later, the "spreading" of the past participle to the main verb gave the form have done finished (1972:193). Once the past participle spread to the main verb, done may have attained some degree of independence from the have construction, becoming instead a kind of quasi-modal, with its privileges of occurrence broadening to include simple past verbs and the be auxiliary, while it kept its function to mark a completive aspect. This is, of course, largely speculation, based on the synchronic facts of the usage of done in AE and OE and the historical evidence available on its possible origins.

Sociolinguistic Aspects

When we speak of done as a variable feature of AE and OE, this does not mean it is used by all speakers or to the same extent by those who do use it. In fact, as we mentioned earlier, one of the differences between AE and OE lies in the extent to which done is realized at all, with AE displaying far more instances of the construction than OE. Other important social parameters to investigate are age and sex, since

differences along those lines can have implications for language change as well.

Although we have no basis on which to tabulate frequency levels (since it is not possible to identify possible occurrences of done that were not realized), we can examine the simple numbers of occurrences of the construction by sex and age group for the two varieties. These figures are presented in Table 4.1.

	AE		OE		
Age Group	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
10-15	10	5	-	-	15
16-30	5	10	-	-	15
31-50	10	2	2	-	14
51-70	16	2	5	-	23
70+	4	4	1	2	11
TOTAL	45	23	8	2	78

Table 4.1 Number of Instances of Completive done in AE and OE by Age and Sex

There are several interesting observations to be made on the basis of these figures. The fact that there are many more instances in the AE sample than in the OE sample is nicely complemented by the age group patterns. We find that among AE speakers there are no striking age group differences; conversely, among OE speakers we have a nearly classical display of figures that indicate generational differences. In that variety, almost all the instances of done are found in the speech of those over 50 years of age. This result would support a conclusion that done is dying out in OE, while the figures for AE show little sign

of that occurring. There is also a strong tendency in both communities for done to be used by males moreso than females. Since changes toward the standard (eliminating stigmatized features) typically are more advanced among females and younger speakers, the sex differentiation in AE might be a precursor to done's dying out in that community as well. In any event, the figures in Table 4.1 point to the speakers of OE being more advanced in the change toward standard (non-done) constructions than AE speakers. Although we do not assume any relationship between the varieties, it is interesting to note that Labov found a similar trend for Vernacular Black English, observing that done "appears to be receding in the BEV of northern cities" (1972b:53).

Other Auxiliary Forms

As we noted early in this discussion, there are a number of other forms characteristic of non-mainstream varieties of English that impinge on our account of the auxiliary. Both AE and OE show evidence of incorporating such forms into their verb systems. While we will not go into the level of detail for these structures considered in the discussion of done, we can mention several of the forms and their usage characteristics.

Liketa occurs in both positive and negative contexts, as in the examples in (28).

28.a. And I knew what I'd done and boy it liketa scared me to death. (AE 152:28)

b. That thing looked exactly like a real mouse and I liketa went through the roof. (AE 64:19)

c. When we got there, we liketa never got waited on. (AE 151:2)

d. I had kidney stones and they liketa killed me. (OE 25:13)

e. The first car she ever seen--she said it liketa scared her to death. (OE 38:20)

f. I wasn't paying attention to what I was doing...when I started around this curve, I liketa missed the curve. In my sister's car. And I jerked the wheel... (OE 10:18)

g. I liketa never got over it. (OE 29:33)

h. Well, she's liketa threw me, thrown me through a wall before. Matter of fact, she did one time. (AE 149:13)

A past form of the main verb of the clause always follows liketa, and this is the place where tense marking occurs since it is absent from liketa (Labov 1972b). There were no cases in our data of the form occurring in questions, in embedded clauses, or with tag questions, and the only negative environment represented was never (cf. (28c,h)).

Liketa means something very close to "almost" as noted by Labov (1972b) and Feagin (1979), but in the counterfactuality sense only (not in the sense of "almost" that can signal partial accomplishment). That is, liketa signals that, although the situation came very close to happening, it in fact did not happen, and the proposition contained in the clause is admittedly untrue (or exaggerated). This is apparent in a case like (28h), where in order to allow for the possibility that the situation actually did occur, the speaker must separately assert it. Elgin (1983) also notes that the situation must be a quite significant one, although liketa died may have become an idiom, so that it can refer to minor embarrassments as well. Liketa, like done, adds emphasis or intensification to structures it occurs in.

Another form occurring with past tense verbs is supposeta (with variants sposeta and poseta). The construction with supposeta includes a following past tense verb and in many cases an initial auxiliary be. Examples are shown in (29).

29.a. He was sposeta went up in this big two story house. (AE 35:12)

b. And a bunch of guys jumped on him, something he was sposeta done, and killed him. (AE 66:6)

c. And so they poseta met on one side of the ridge, you know, in so many hours. (AE 156:19)

d. And kerosene. That's supposeta been the cure for everything. (OE 39:11)

e. So her husband--was sposeta been her husband, but they didn't get married--he was a priest. (OE 9:6)

f. She sposeta had a stroke. (OE 17:4)

Supposeta appears to have become a fixed form, like liketa and useta, related to supposed to but with the past tense ending on suppose neutralized phonologically. It bears a much closer relationship to a full form, be supposed to, than liketa. The tense marking has shifted to the following element (with, in addition, the past tense on the auxiliary when it is present). Labov (1972b) has observed that supposeta requires do when negated, as in don't supposeta, but there were no such instances in our sample.

There are several other cases of vernacular forms which interact with the elements of the auxiliary of English. One further item turns up fairly frequently in our corpus, useta. This form seems to have the widest range of privileges of occurrence of the set so far described. Without further comment, we will present some illustrations of its usage to round out our discussion of these auxiliary forms.

30.a. I useta couldn't count anything til I got me some work up here. (AE 85:21)

b. People useta didn't have frigidaires or nothing. (AE 85:25)

c. He useta rode them logs. (OE 1b:17)

d. I don't fall as easy as I useta did. (OE 36:13)

e. I useta didn't fall and hurt myself as bad as he did. (OE 28:9)

f. Useto, you could go for miles without seeing a house. (OE 34:15)

Finally, as mentioned in the discussion of done, we should note again the relative absence of multiple modal constructions. In the entire data base, only one instance occurred, might could, by an AE speaker.

Discussion

There seem to be a number of forms which occur in non-mainstream varieties of English that cause a re-examination of the English auxiliary to account for them. They may, like done and liketa, contribute emphasis as well as distinctions of aspect and modality to the verb phrases in which they occur. Grammatical accounts of English should consider such forms in their proposals. While opinions may differ on the scope of the applicability of a proposed grammar (one speaker or many), more and more arguments are being offered that rules and/or categories which are independently motivated in English are nonetheless available because they are needed in other languages. Data such as those presented here point to the need for more attention along those same lines for variable features within the English language itself.

In addition to documenting a range of variation within the verb phrase for AE and OE speakers, we have also noted some interesting sociolinguistic differentiation among and between the communities. Completive done is apparently dying out of OE, but that movement is not yet apparent in AE (although the predominance of males using the form may indicate this tendency). The other forms discussed do not seem to share this age relatedness in either variety, although once again we can

note a much greater frequency of instances in each case by speakers of AE over the OE group. This may in part be due to the larger sample obtained from the Appalachian communities; however, the numbers are more significantly different than a simple comparison of the samples would predict. It seems then that OE overall is exhibiting a lower level of stigmatized features within the auxiliary category than AE.

CHAPTER FIVE

PERSONAL DATIVES

In English, when the same referent is mentioned twice within a clause, the second occurrence typically takes on a reflexive form, that is, a form with -self, as in myself, themselves. This happens not only when both references show up in the same clause in the utterance (1a, b), but also when they both are part of the underlying structure, with one deleted or raised into the matrix clause at some prior point (1c).

1.a. Did you hurt yourself?

b. They fixed themselves some soup for lunch.

c. I was saving money to buy myself a new coat.

In some varieties of English, including AE and OE, it is possible to use a non-reflexive pronoun, you, me, etc., in certain cases for the second occurrence of a single referent within the same clause. This usage is illustrated in (2).

2.a. I'd go out and cut me a limb off of a tree, get me a good straight one. (AE 7:21)

b. After they all got gone, she got her a big house. (AE 205:9)

c. We had us a cabin, built us a log cabin back over there. (AE 146:18)

d. And then you'd get you a bowl of ice water. (AE 160:10)

e. ...until I build me a rock wall or something. (OE 34:15)

f. He usually finds him a long stick. (OE 19:22)

g. We raised us two other horses. (OE 40b:100)

h. You'd get you a can of pork and beans for a nickel and get you a box of crackers for a nickel and eat your dinner... (OE 1a:22)

This structure appears to be fairly common in southern-based varieties of English, and it is often represented in stereotypical characterizations of speakers of these varieties. In Figure 5.1, such a case is reproduced, a comic strip where one of the characters is meant to sound something like a cowboy and says, "I got me a condo in the city." The language stereotype adds to the humor of the contradiction.

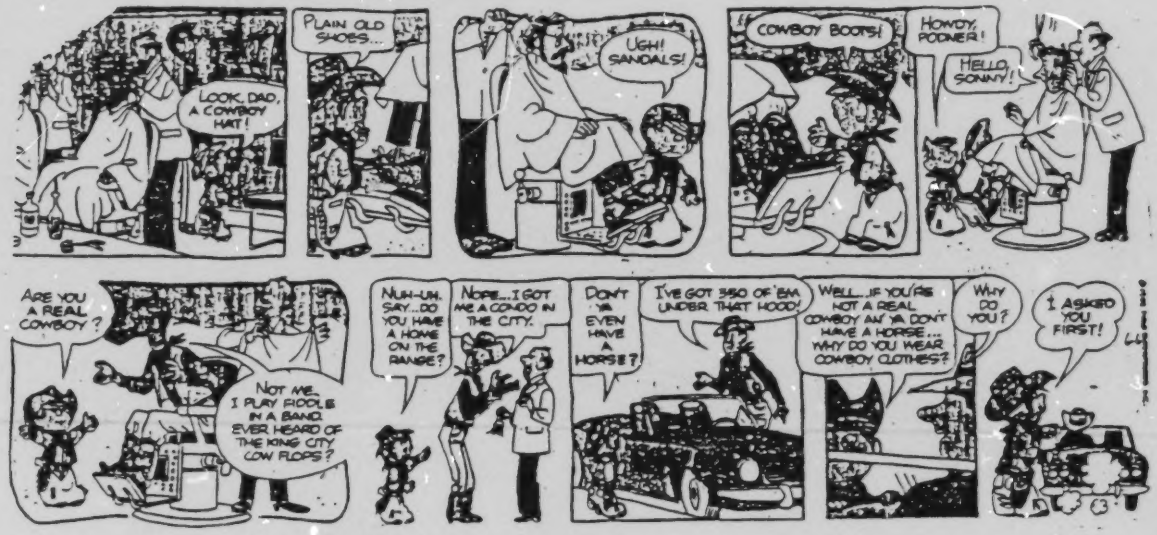
LOOK, DAD, A COWBOY HAT!
PLAIN OLD SHOES...
UGH! SANDALS!
COWBOY BOOTS!
HOWDY, PODNER!
HELLO, SONNY!
ARE YOU A REAL COWBOY?
NOT ME. I PLAY FIDDLE IN A BAND. EVER HEARD OF THE KING CITY COW FLOPS?
NUH-UH. SAY...DO YOU HAVE A HOME ON THE RANGE?
NOPE...I GOT ME A CONDO IN THE CITY.
DON'T YA EVEN HAVE A HORSE?
I'VE GOT 350 OF 'EM UNDER THAT HOOD!
WELL...IF YOU'RE NOT A REAL COWBOY AN' YA DON'T HAVE A HORSE... WHY DO YOU WEAR COWBOY CLOTHES?
WHY DO YOU?
I ASKED YOU FIRST!

Figure 5.1. "Dennis the Menace" by Hank Ketcham

This structure, which will be referred to in this discussion as the "personal dative," occurs extensively in this sample of Appalachian speech, and to a lesser extent in the Ozark sample. The raw totals of instances number over 200 in the AE corpus, compared to 25 for the OE speakers. The form is labeled "personal dative" because it resembles the dative construction where the indirect object of a clause is related to a _for_ or _to_ dative (i.e., _I gave them the food_ as related to _I gave the food to them_). Since it occurs only in a coreferential context, the pronoun is also closely paired with the subject, hence the modifier "personal".

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Some general observations about this construction's form and distribution provide a starting point for our discussion. It surfaces in the internal indirect object position (immediately after the verb) when a direct object is also present (therefore with transitive verbs). There are no cases like *I hurt me or *We could see us in the mirror, in the sense in question. (Some emphatic contexts might allow something like We couldn't see them, but we could see us in the mirror, but there the pronoun is a direct object.) The personal dative is not an "ideal" indirect object although it fills that slot in the sentence. It can occur with verbs that do not normally allow internal indirect objects, thus giving it a wider range of possibilities of co-occurrence. Because it is coreferential with the subject, it cannot become the subject in a passive version of the sentence, unlike non-coreferential indirect objects. Thus, I gave Sam a pencil can become A pencil was given to Sam or Sam was given a pencil. Looking at (2), it is clear that a similar process cannot apply in these contexts, since it yields structures like *I was cut a limb off a tree.

Certain other characteristics also emerge. The personal dative is a relatively unstressed element in the clause. It is restricted to animate referents, but not necessarily just human ones. Rather, it would appear that the pronoun form is the crucial point; as long as the pronoun is not it, the usage is acceptable.[1] So, for example, The cat found her a comfortable chair to curl up in might be found, but not *The cat found it a comfortable chair to curl up in (where the pronoun is coreferential with the subject)[2] With the exception of it, however, the full range of pronouns was observed. There may be some differences

in the frequencies with which the personal dative structure occurs for different nouns. The structure can be found much more frequently with first and second person subjects than with third person, singular or plural, subjects. This observation requires further investigation, to eliminate other factors from responsibility for the tendency noticed (such as topic), but it holds for the over 225 instances examined here.

There is a fairly strong resemblance between this usage and the dative construction involving _for_ in English (in those cases where the subject and indirect object are coreferential). The dative relationship is expressed by either _to_ or _for_ phrases as in (3) where the "internal" counterparts follow each example. (3d) illustrates this relationship when the subject and indirect object are coreferential.

3.a. We gave a present _to our uncle_.
We gave _our uncle_ a present.

b. John knitted a sweater _for Susan_.
John knitted _Susan_ a sweater.

c. They ordered a sandwich _for me_.
They ordered _me_ a sandwich.

d. I bought a lawnmower _for myself_.
I bought _myself_ a lawnmower.

The personal dative has been linked to sentences like (3d), with the suggestion that the non-reflexive constructions come from the same source as the internal _for_-dative. (2a) above then would be directly related to _I'd go out and cut a limb off of a tree for myself_. Green (1974) gives a lengthy discussion of the verbs which take datives, and at one point notes:

> All of the for-dative verbs, in contrast to the to-datives, may occur with non-reflexive coreferential indirect object pronouns, but only in certain colloquial, rural, or sub-standard types of speech, and for no apparent reason, only if the indirect object is internal. (Green 1974:190)

This observation is of course too simplistic, at least to cover this sample of AE and OE, since there isn't a one-to-one correspondence between this non-reflexive pronoun usage, the personal dative, and an internal for-dative counterpart in other varieties of English. In addition, the structure would not seem to be as stigmatized as Green implies; rather it would appear to be a non-stigmatized variant structure of informal speech in those varieties where it is used.

Allerton (1978) discusses the so-called Dative Movement rule in English, which relates pairs of sentences like those in (3) above. He outlines a set of factors to account for those cases in which the rule can and cannot apply. It applies uniformly in the case of to-datives (like (3a)), but not always in the case of for. Without going into all the details, we can note a useful distinction that Allerton makes between benefactive for and deputive for. The benefactive case is one like (3b) and (3c), where the indirect object is the recipient of the direct object (closer to the meaning associated with to). The opposite end of for-datives is the deputive use, where the action involved is done on behalf of the indirect object, as in:

4. Mary taught a class for Sam.

(We should note that some investigators would consider this type of phrase to be an adverbial complement.) There is apparently a scale in between the two constructions where those structures closer to the benefactive end can have Dative Movement, as we saw earlier in (3b) and

(3c), while those closer to the deputive end of the scale cannot; *Mary taught Sam a class is not acceptable.

Returning to the personal dative examples, we find a number of verbs with this structure in the sample which do not appear to have internal reflexive indirect object counterparts. Many, but still not all, could be paired with a phrase of the form for + reflexive pronoun, but it is not clear whether these would all be considered datives, and even if they could, they cannot undergo Dative Movement. Some examples appear in (6):

6.a. We want us a black German police dog cause I had one once. (AE 29:31)

b. Lotta time, I take me a pound or two of butter and cut me off a chunk of butter... (AE 22:21)

c. She wanted her some liver pudding. (AE 152:8)

d. We got us some logs,... put us four big poles around the side of it, and got us logs put over top. (AE 10:25)

e. You'd put slats across there and put you a set of springs... (OE 32a:10)

The context surrounding the above personal datives might allow the use of a for-phrase, for example, in (6c): She wanted some liver pudding for herself. The internal counterpart, however, is unacceptable: *She wanted herself some liver pudding. Allerton's account of the dative movement rule may help here. Since not all for-datives may be moved to the internal position, the personal dative may represent a structural departure in those cases where it, but not the reflexive, may occur internally. (We should not that Allerton does not consider the co-referential cases, where subject and indirect object have the same referent. There may well indeed be other special considerations involved.)

Elgin (personal communication, 1983) suggests that constructions with for can represent a wide variety of case relationships, and that the picture may be even more complex for OE. As a result, great care must be taken when attributing a particular for-phrase as the source for a pronominal indirect object. In fact, Elgin observes that there should not even be a rule of dative movement posited. Thus, she suggests that personal dative forms may constitute another indirect object construction that needs careful investigation because of other case features in a variety like OE and that they should not be defined in terms of a paraphrase with for.

Where apparent correspondences exist, we can examine the possible relationship between these personal datives and the other dative constructions. One parameter is meaning. For most of the examples found where a reflexive pronoun counterpart for a personal dative was acceptable, the two variants seem to be close paraphrases, as in (7):

7.a. He took some feed sacks and fixed him a shield of some sort. (OE 39:12)

He took some feed sacks and fixed himself a shield of some sort.

b. I traded it, sold it for twenty-five dollars, and bought me a pony. (AE 10:4)

I traded it, ... and bought myself a pony.

c. We'd head out up in them trees and roll that stuff up and make us cigarettes, you know, and smoke that. (AE 30:2)

We'd head out ... and make ourselves cigarettes,...

d. I'm going to get me a German police dog. (AE 29:30)

I'm going to get myself a German police dog.

There may be at least some subtle differences in meaning, but these are

somewhat difficult to pinpoint. Such differences may be more evident in the examples in (8):

8.a. I shot me a pheasant. (AE 2:13)

(?)I shot myself a pheasant.

b. That day when he had the party, he got him a bow and arrow set...and he got him some Stomper Guns and some guns that... (AE 1:22)

That day when he had the party, he got himself a bow and arrow set...and he got himself some...

The personal dative in (8a) seems to vary in meaning from the dative phrase for myself (and the internal myself) in that the me seems less the benefactor of the action than the for-phrase would indicate. It is possible, though, that this is a more widespread difference between the construction with the overt for-phrase and the one with the internal indirect object. There also seems to be a degree of emphasis difference, with myself slightly more emphatic. In (8b), the difference seems to be more one of who is responsible for the result of the action of the verb. The context tells us that the toys were received as gifts, but the structure with the reflexive forms seems to vary from that. Here the verb get may be the problem.

Certain structural differences show up when the reflexive and non-reflexive are compared as they combine with other dative phrases and these might have implications for the meaning relationships. For example, the personal dative can be found in some instances with a verb that takes to-datives, such as write:

9.a. I'm gonna write me a letter to the President.

*I'm gonna write myself a letter to the President.

b. You should get you a Valentine card for the teacher.

*You should get yourself a Valentine card for the teacher.

(The example in (9a) was provided by Richard Smaby, personal communication). The alternate form with a reflexive pronoun is strange and would not appear derivable from a for-dative. Similarly, although I'm gonna write a letter to the President for Fred is acceptable, the only internal indirect object possible is the President, not Fred, as in (10):

10. I'm gonna write the President a letter for Fred.

*I'm gonna write Fred a letter to the President.

We need to consider these examples with some caution, since as Elgin (personal communication, 1983) has pointed out, the construction which allow dative combinations may be unusual in other ways. ("A letter to the President" may be a non-ordinary object, for example.)

There is, in addition, the possibility of a personal dative co-occurring with an overt for-dative phrase. In these cases, the for-phrase clearly specifies the benefactor of the action, and its inclusion serves to reduce, if not eliminate the benefactor aspect of the personal dative. For example:

11.a. He was looking to buy him a house for his family.

b. I want to find me a pretty card for my mother.

Here, the presence of the personal dative blocks the possibility of the for-dative occurring internally, though it could otherwise, as in buy his family a house. This fact makes it look like the personal dative fills the indirect object slot, although it does not necessarily need to have the full meaning of an indirect object, as the reflexive would.

In summary, then, the personal dative in AE and OE bears a strong relationship to for-dative constructions in meaning, and somewhat less

strong in form. It cannot occur with pronoun it, while the for-dative does not have this limitation. It carries a lower stress than the internal reflexive. The distribution of the structures with respect to various verbs and other positional considerations differ some. Finally, the indirect object meaning of the personal dative can, in effect, be cancelled, if another candidate occurs, as in (11). It remains to fill the internal slot, though, precluding the indirect object from moving. It seems then, that the personal dative is a low-stressed indirect-object-like structure, which carries a "light" benefactive meaning (the strength of which probably relates to other features of the context). It may stem from the for-dative but its usage has generalized to a wider variety of contexts with a concurrent shift in meaning. Certain pieces of evidence put forth above may suggest, in fact, that this structure is simply a "pseudo-dative," a particle which is a pronoun copy of the subject and which has distributional privileges like those outlined in this discussion.

If we look at this structure from a sociolinguistic perspective, we can compare the two varieties, AE and OE, and social subgroupings within them. As noted above, there were far more instances of personal datives recorded from AE speakers than OE speakers. This may, however, be partially due to the volume of data available, since we had in total nearly three times as many hours of speech for AE than for OE. It could also indicate that the structure is less active in OE, that perhaps it, along with other vernacular features, is dying out. Speakers in all age groups use the form in both varieties, and no apparent differentiation by sex exists. Thus, the personal dative is an active vernacular

feature that occurs regularly in AE and less frequently in OE, where it may be fading out of use. The structure is also found in other southern-based non-mainstream varieties, so this is one of the features that AE and OE have in common with the larger range of southern varieties of English.

Notes to Chapter Five

[1]There are apparently varieties where this restriction does not apply. Several isolated instances have been reported to us where *it* appears in a personal dative construction.

[2]Examples of this type do exist in real speech, however, as attested in speech samples collected by Michael Montgomery in Tennessee, cf.:

> We'd have the grandest time a-trying to find that hen. We could hear the little fellers, but she'd have, she'd steal *her* a place and lay her eggs and hatch 'em back in under these hay and different places about the barn, you know.
>
> (70 year old female from Tennessee; Michael Montgomery, personal communication)

CHAPTER SIX

A-PREFIXING

Introduction

Among the linguistic structures that characterize older varieties of English, few are more prominent as relic forms than the so-called a-prefix. Although this form may attach itself to a number of different kinds of items, the most productive one involves the a-prefix on -ing participles such as the following:

1.a. He come a-runnin' out there and got shot.

b. It was a dreadful sight, fire was a-flamin' everywhere. (AE 16:(434))

c. He just kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to come out. (AE 83:18)

These examples, taken from our earlier study of Appalachian English (Wolfram and Christian 1975; Wolfram 1980), indicate that it is a structure which is well-represented in AE. Although it is also attested in other, older varieties of English, its most productive uses seem to be found in Southern rural varieties located in close proximity to the Appalachian mountain range (Atwood 1953; Feagin 1979; Miles 1980). For this reason, it seems an ideal form to examine with respect to AE and OE. Its status as an archaism is secure (Krapp 1925; Jespersen 1933), and its historical source is fairly well-documented. What we now need to examine in the context of AE and OE is the descriptive parameters of its usage and its distribution in the two communities. In this way, we can then see if its sociolinguistic change is similar or different. In the following sections, we shall review its syntactic and phonological

privileges and examine some semantic/pragmatic dimensions of usage as well. From there, we shall compare its use in the two communities to see how it distributes itself. The analysis combines our older data on AE with our more recently collected data from that area and then compares it with the data collected from OE. As we shall see, both qualitative and quantitative dimensions must be explored in order to arrive at a reasonable explanation of the form and the kind of change that it is undergoing.

Syntactic Properties of a-Prefixing

In Wolfram (1980), it is demonstrated that a-prefixing is syntactically constrained along several unifiable dimensions related to the syntactic categories of verb and adverb. A common occurrence of a-prefixing is that in which the -ing functions as a progressive, as in the following sentences:

AE

2.a. I knew he was a-tellin' the truth but still I was a-comin' home. (83:1)

b. Well, she's a-gettin' the black lung now. (83:25)

c. He'll forget to spit and he'll cut and it'll just be a-runnin', a-drippin' off his chin when he gets to catch them. (146:25)

OE

3.a. They wasn't a-raisin' nothin'. (1:20)

b. And I rode up beside him and I said, "Uncle Polk, you know, you ain't got nary a cow but the one you a-leadin'. (10:28)

c. ...the right kind of folk that need to be a-livin' here. (22:14)

This common realization of the prefix is found in both AE and OE, regardless of the tense of the verb (e.g. past tense in 2a and 3a and

non-past in 2b and 3b), and also applies to forms not marked for tense in the progressive.(e.g. 2c and 3c). We thus conclude that there are no tense restrictions governing the realization of the a-prefix.

It is also noteworthy that a-prefixing can occur on progressive forms which have undergone so-called WHIZ deletion, where the relative pronoun and be form of an embedded sentence have been deleted. For example, consider the cases of (4) and (5) for AE and OE respectively.

AE

4.a. I had twelve children and I got two dead and ten a-livin'. (153:3)

b. Well, let's say you had a little headache or somethin', or maybe a bone a-hurtin', mother would get you some kind of sassafras tea. (30:13)

OE

5.a. It's a dollar a-layin' there if you don't get it. (36:19)

b. Can you imagine a family a-livin' in a wagon? (28:19)

Miles (1980:44), on the basis of such examples, concludes that the a-prefix can occur on adjectival constructions, stating that "the a-prefixed present participle acts as an adjective in the same way the non-prefixed participle does in situations where it follows and describes a noun or pronoun". It is questionable, however, if this conclusion can be reached on the simple basis of embedded progressive forms undergoing WHIZ deletion. It is clear that pre-nominal participles and predicate adjective constructions cannot attach an a-prefix. The ungrammaticality of sentences such as (6a,b) is not in dispute for AE or OE; nor is it in dispute in Miles' data (Miles 1980:44).

6.a. *The ten a-livin' children are home.

b. *The movie was a-charmin'.

The problem with Miles' observation is the conclusion that WHIZ deletion involves a necessary reclassification of participles to adjectives. Certainly, a-prefixed constructions such as (4) and (5) stand in a modifying relationship to the matrix NP but this is not sufficient to classify them as adjectival. They actually have very little in common with lexical or pre-nominal adjectives (e.g. privileges of occurrence, syntactic manipulation) so that the adjectival status of such post-nominal participles is not formally justified. Miles, in fact, offers no formal argument to support her claim, apparently content to rest her case on the traditional classification of these forms because of their surface modification of an NP. In light of the overwhelming evidence that a-prefixed forms function ad/verbally, to be discussed later, we shall continue to maintain that the involvement of a-prefixing in WHIZ deletion does not constitute a basic violation of the prohibition of this form on adjectives.

There are a number of a-prefixed constructions that support the contention that it functions as an adverbial complement. Sentences such as (7) for AE and (8) for OE support its classification as a general adverbial complement.

AE

7.a. You was pretty weak by the tenth day, a-layin' in there in bed. (37:177)

b. ...one night my sister, she woke up a-screamin'--cryin', hollerin' and so we jumped up. (156:(1044))

OE

8.a. He thought he had a better circumstance, a-comin' here. (23:8)

b. They couldn't do no good a-cuttin' it with just a sound saw. (5:12)

The essential adverbial nature of the participial -ing forms in (7) and (8) is indicated by the fact that they can be questioned by how and why, as in Why were you pretty weak by the tenth day or Why did he think he had a better circumstance?

Finally, we should note the occurrence of a-prefixing as a complement with particular verb subclasses. Included in this set are verbs of movement (9a,b; 10a,b), starting and continuing (9c,d; 10c,d) and perception verbs (9e,f; 10e,f).

AE

9.a. All of a sudden a bear come a-runnin' and it come a-runnin' towards him and he shot it between the eyes. (44:18)

b. ...and then I took off a-ridin' on the minibike. (4:(888))

c. He kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to go out. (83:18)

d. You just look at him and he starts a-bustin' out laughin' at you. (80:(683))

e. I heard somethin' a-snortin' comin' up the hill and I said, "Aw heck!" (29:17)

f. ...and I turned around and I seen that ole snake a-layin' there all coiled up... (44:22)

OE

10.a. When Mulberry gets a-rollin' you better stay off it. (39:9)

b. My fellers gone a-sparkin'. (32:5)

c. ...you know, just kept a-jabberin'. (23:11)

d. They begin to gather in here on Friday night and to start a-huntin'. (41a:17)

e. ...if you'd see one a-comin'. (28b:22)

f. I remember them a-walkin' up the planks. (33:14)

The illustrative sentences in (10) and (11) indicate a fairly wide range

of syntactic permissibility for a-prefix as an adverbial complement. While the traditional classification of complements with movement verbs has often treated these participles as nominals, there now exists ample justification that they should be treated formally as adverbial complements. Since these arguments have been set forth in detail in Wolfram (1980) based on Silva (1973), we shall not repeat them in this account. It is sufficient here to observe that the classification of these complements as adverbs is based upon reasonable formal arguments that are in keeping with our unification of all a-prefixing forms as ad/verb.

In setting forth the syntactic properties of a-prefixing, we should mention two other contexts in which a-prefixing is prohibited. One of these contexts derives from our restriction of the form to ad/verb contexts, but the other is not so obvious. Nominal -ing forms, like the adjectival forms discussed earlier may not attach an a- prefix. Thus, gerunds such as (11) are not permissible with an a- prefix.

11.a. *He likes a-huntin'.

b. *A-huntin' is fun.

c. *He saw their a-shootin'.

The unacceptablity of these constructions is based upon two observations. First of all, we have collected no examples of such forms in all of our data from AE and OE. This matches the observations made by other investigators of this form (Feagin 1979; Miles 1980). In addition, we administered a native speaker intuition task to a-prefixing users and found the rejection of these forms by these speakers virtually categorical (Wolfram 1982). The evidence, then, seems indisputable and in keeping with our contention that a-prefixing is restricted to ad/verb syntactic constructions.

The other context is not as obvious initially, although we shall see that it derives naturally from our analysis of the a- prefix. This is the restriction which prohibits a- prefix in a position immediately following a preposition. Thus, for example, we do not find sentences such as (12) in our data from AE and OE.

12.a. *He makes money by a-buildin' houses.

b. *He nearly died from a-laughin' so hard.

Here again, the evidence comes from the absence of such forms in our data and the elicitation of native speaker intuitions about these forms (Wolfram 1982). It is also supported by data from independent investigations of this structure (Miles 1980; Feagin 1979).

The restriction on prepositions seems to be a relatively superficial one, as indicated by the fact that the sentences of (12) may substitute an a-prefix for the preposition without significant effect on its structure or meaning so that sentences such as (13) are structurally and semantically synonymous with (12).

13.a. He makes money a-buildin' houses.

b. He nearly died a-laughin' so hard.

It is further observed that a-prefixed forms may occur in an attributive relationship to the prepositional phrase as in (14).

14. No, that's something I hadn't ever got into, with dogs a-fightin'. (AE 22:34)

This example might also be interpreted as derived from WHIZ deletion, and thus not eligible to be preposed to a pre-nominal position in any case, but the constraint of the preposition operates as well.

Another observation that reinforces the superficiality of the preposition constraint is the case of coordinate prepositional objects.

Under certain conditions in English, it is possible to get prepositional phrases "gapped" by the same preposition, so that we can get a construction such as He makes money by restoring houses and building houses in which the preposition by is among the gapped constituents. However, it does not appear that the gapping prohibits the use of the a-prefix on the coordinate constituent. That is, sentences such as (15a,b) are permissible in these varieties although the preposition in the first member of the coordinate may apply to the second member as well.

15.a. He makes money by restorin' houses and a-buildin' houses.

b. He got sick from workin' and a-tryin' too hard.

It is not our intention here to become involved in an elaborate argument concerning the nature of gapping in coordination (or some of the syntactic ambiguities involved in sentences such as (15a,b)), but simply to point out that the evidence supports the contention that the preposition restriction operates on a fairly superficial level of language. We shall have more to say about this later.

Finally, we must note that the preposition is not to be confused with verb particles that have the same phonological form as the preposition. Forms such as on and by in (16a,b) are particles associated with the verb, and therefore are quite eligible to occur with an a- prefixed form.

16.a. He kept on a-jabberin' about the work.

b. He ran by a-screamin' and a-hollerin'.

We can summarize this section by saying that a-prefixing is restricted to the ad/verbal syntactic category, but cannot follow a true preposition. The generality of this syntactic classification is reinforced in the data from AE and OE, as well as other studies providing

data on this form. We have yet to uncover genuine counterexamples to this general syntactic restriction.

Phonological Restrictions on a-Prefixing

Our previous study of a-prefixing in AE has also uncovered several important phonological restrictions on the realization of a-prefixing. A prominent, and apparently categorical restriction on a-prefixing is its occurrence with verb forms beginning with unstressed syllables. Therefore, we do not find forms such as those in (16).

16.a. *She was a-discoverin' a bear in the woods.

b. *She was a-returnin' from her house.

Again, the data supporting this conclusion come from the categorical absence of counterexamples from the AE and OE data and a supplementary intuition task (Wolfram 1982). In fact, this seems to be one of the strongest of the restrictions we have found, and we have found that speakers are more willing to violate the syntactic constraints mentioned above than they are this phonological one. In all other studies we have surveyed (Hackenberg 1972; Feagin 1979; Miles 1980), we have yet to come across a single counterexample. This prohibition is, no doubt, related to the general English restriction on successive unstressed syllables initially. Although alternative explanations might be offered related to the Latinate prefixes typically involved in these unstressed forms or a lexical/stylistically-based distinction between "learned" and "vernacular" vocabulary items, an explanation rooted in the general productive phonological structure of English is certainly preferable to a lexically or historically based, non-productive one.

The other phonological restriction is not as strong as the one related to stress; nonetheless, it is semi-categorical, if not categorical, in most a-prefixing varieties, including those considered here. This is the constraint which prohibits a-prefixing from occurring with forms beginning with a vowel. Thus, we do not encounter examples such as those in (18).

18.a. *She was a-eatin' the food.

b. *She was a-returnin' from her house.

Again, the restriction related to canonical shape finds an explanation in the general English restriction against vowel clusters initially. While it may be possible to find an occasional example of such forms (Feagin 1979 is the only investigator who has uncovered one example of this) which parallels the occasional tolerance of vowel clusters initially (e.g. aorta, oasis and even these are quite disputable), it is clear that the following vowel strongly disfavors the realization of the a-prefix. For our purposes, it is reasonable to consider this as a categorical restriction. The essential point, however, is that the phonological restriction operates on forms that are syntactically permissible, applying as a phonological filter to prohibit the surface prefix. There is no syntactic basis for forms such as (17) and (18) not to occur, so that the grammatical component of the dialect should be able to generate the a-prefix on them; in fact, any attempt to restrict them on the basis of the grammatical rules would certainly lead to an ad-hoc, non-productive syntactic explanation. They are, instead, naturally and productively explained as eliminated through the phonological filter.

The Derivation of a-Prefix

Historically, it is well documented that the a-prefix developed from a preposition, the vestige of the prepositional phrases that developed into the present-day participles (Jespersen 1933:52). The position that we take in this analysis is that the current use of a-prefixing, apart from its historical source, is most adequately considered as an adverbial prepositional phrase, with the a- functioning as a preposition. There are four basic arguments that form the basis for this conclusion.

The first argument comes from anaphoric reference to a-prefixed forms, where a preposition may surface in the anaphoric constituent. Consider, for example, the prepositions which surface for the a-prefixed forms in sentences (19a-d).

19.a. He was a-workin' an hour ago and he's probably still at it.

b. He went a-fishin' in the pond and he's probably still at it.

c. We heard them a-hollerin' and they're probably still at it.

d. The man a-hootin' and a-tootin' is probably still at it.

The wide range of constructions in which a-prefixing occurs may surface a preposition for anaphoric reference, suggesting the strong affinity with the underlying preposition.[1]

A second argument comes from the substitutability of prepositions for various cases of a-prefixing. It is recalled here that in sentences (12) and (13) the the preposition and a-prefix were virtually interchangeable, so that sentences such as He makes money by buildin' houses and He makes money a-buildin' houses seem to be structurally identical as well as semantically synonymous. The fact that the a-prefix

can so readily substitute for certain classes of prepositions again suggests a common syntactic category.

The third argument is again related to the relationship of a- prefixing to other prepositions. In this case, however, the argument comes from the fact that there is a restriction against the occurrence of a-prefixing when immediately following a preposition. Why is it that an a-prefix cannot occur following a preposition? The simplest explanation is found in the general restriction against "prepositional clustering" in English. Each prepositional phrase may only have one true preposition so that the restriction on items such as from by or on at co-occurring at axis of a prepositional phrase would also prohibit by a- or on a- from co-occurring in this constituent slot.

Finally, we may mention the pattern of overt prepositional retention that we find in AE and OE. In both of these varieties, we have found a range of prepositions occurring with -ing that is somewhat more expansive than that found in other varieties of English. Consider, for example, the following sentences from AE and OE.

AE

20.a. ...if you were a parent at rearin' a child in an environment that had a lot of that sort of thing? (FW 61:20)

b. I'm tryin' to get him back on huntin' again. (159:(668))

c. ...cause there's some things that just, really no use on fussin' about. (148:7)

OE

21.a. ...got started on buildin' and ended up a-gettin' married. (23:8)

b. He still has his real problems on figurin' out how to do things. (34:16)

c. I didn't have time really in raisin' my children to spoil them. (30:2)

The broader base of prepositions with adverbial complements involving -ing participles illustrates two points. First, it illustrates again the close affinity of the preposition and a- prefix. There is a genuine sense in which a-prefix still selectively replaces prepositions such as on, in, and at. Secondly, it illustrates the genuine alternation that can take place between the forms. A sentence such as (21a), in fact, seems simply to alternate with a- and on in on buildin' and a-gettin'. Typically, these prepositional forms with -ing are considered the older forms from which the a-prefix developed, as noted in Jespersen (1933:53):

> ...we start from the old phrase he was on hunting... Here on became phonetically a, as in other cases, and a was eventually dropped, exactly as in other phrases: burst out on laughing, a-laughing, laughing; fall on thinking, a-thinking, thinking; set the clock on going, a-going, going, etc.

The prepositions with -ing participles in sentences (20) and (21) may represent older stages in the development of English, and at this point be vestigial, but they remain as occasional fluctuating alternates with the a-prefixed forms. And, if they are fluctuating forms in the same syntactic context without apparent semantic differentiation, then they are most reasonably derived from the same source. This source is apparently a temporal-locative prepositional form akin to the temporal-locative uses of on and at.

Our conclusion, then, is that the a-prefixing form is synchronically derived from a preposition, with the phrase functioning as an adverbial phrase syntactically. While the arguments we have set forth might not make a foolproof case individually, together they constitute

strong motivation for this solution. That this derivation makes sense historically is convenient, but not an integral part of our argumentation here; we prefer to motivate it apart from the history that brought it about, with the expectation that the synchronic profile will structurally mesh with the historical precedent.

The Semantic Properties of the a-Prefix

In some respects, the most elusive aspect of the a-prefix has been its semantic content, despite the fact that this dimension often has been the primary focus of recent sociolinguistic studies. The problem lies in the inability to motivate solutions that define a distinctive semantic property for the a-prefix. Several proposals have been offered with respect to a unique aspectual marking function for a-prefixing, but numerous counterexamples refute these proposals. Among the proposals for a distinctive aspectual function are Stewart's (1967) and Hackenberg's (1972) proposals. We shall briefly review them here, and then consider more recent proposals in the light of additional data collected as a part of this study.

Stewart (1967) proposed that a-prefixing involves an aspectual relationship relating to indefiniteness and/or remoteness. He notes (1967:10):

> The prefix shows that the action of the verb is indefinite in space and time while its absence implies that the action is immediate in space and time. Thus, he's a-workin' in Mountain Speech means either that the subject has a steady job, or he is away (out of sight, for example) working somewhere. On the other hand, he's workin' in Mountain Speech means that the subject is doing a specific task, close by. A similar (though not identical) grammatical distinction is indicated in Negro dialect by the verbal auxiliary be.

Unfortunately, Stewart does not motivate his solution with formal argumentation, and there are numerous counterexamples to his claim. Examples such as (22) are among the many a-prefixed utterances which take place in an immediate, specific context, precisely the kind of context which Stewart's analysis precludes.

22.a. I's a-washin' one day and to go under the door I had to go under that spider. (AE 28:21)

b. I's a-cannin' chicken one time... (AE 156:(229))

c. Is this tape a-workin' now? (OE 1B:22)

Sentences such as (22), with co-occurring immediate and specific adverbs (one day in 22a; one time in 22b) and immediate, specific context (22c, where the subject asks about the tape recorder which is present at the site) are difficult to reconcile with Stewart's proposal and these are hardly a rarity. Such counterexamples to his claim occur quite regularly in our corpora of both AE and OE. A-prefixed forms can occur in both immediate and non-immediate contexts. The Stewart proposal, then, is simply inconsistent with the data and thus dismissed as unfounded speculation.

Hackenberg (1972) also contends that a-prefixing represents a semantic marking, hypothesizing that the a-prefix reflects intermittent aspect. While he concludes that the preference of "intermittent" over "continuous" and "planned" aspect is a variable constraint, not a categorical aspectual distinction, we must again dispute this conclusion. The problem with this solution is that it ignores the obvious parallels with the regular usage pattern for non-a-prefixed progressives, the most common syntactic context for this form. Hackenberg reaches his conclusion on the basis of a preference test with Appalachian speakers, in

which they were asked to choose the form on which they would most likely place the a- prefix. (e.g. Would the speaker prefer the a- prefix on a sentence such as They're playing bridge this year as an "intermittent", They're playing bridge right now as a "continuous", or Tomorrow they're playing bridge as a "planned" aspect?) The problem with this argument is that the preference lies in the uses of the progressive, not the a- prefix. The same test, minus the a- prefix component of the selection task, was given to a group of standard English speakers, and their preferences for these sentences were identical (Wolfram 1981:136). That is, they most often chose intermittent as the preferred sentence for the progressive. Quite clearly, then, the results of Hackenberg's test must be seen as a reflection of preferences for the category progressive and are not uniquely correlated with a-prefixing. Of the recent proposals, Feagin's hypothesis concerning the meaning of a-prefixing is the most reasonable. Based on co-occurring adverbs (intensifying just and keep, with the intensifying meaning of persevere, are among the most frequent), she concludes (1979:114) that "the prefixed present participle has the meaning of 'intensified action' or 'immediacy or dramatic vividness' which ...is an offshoot of the progressive in general". What is unclear in Feagin's proposal, however, is the linguistic status of this claim: is this a formal semantic distinction that can be supported through syntactic argumentation or is this a claim about the form's pragmatic function in conversational usage? In order to support the proposal of the unique semantic function of the a-prefix, it would be necessary to show that an intensifying adverb such as really may co-occur with this form whereas a limiting or non-intensive context would prohibit the a-prefix. This does not appear

to be the case, since there is no indication that a- prefix is prohibited from limiting adverbs such as only, barely, or hardly as in sentences such as (23):

23. He was just barely a-movin' along. (AE 153:36)

We would also expect that the a-prefix might be limited to assertive statements, so that non-intensive negatives and questions would not be eligible for the a-prefix. But we have already given examples of a-prefixing with negatives (cf. sentence (3a)) and questions (cf. sentence (5b)) so that this co-occurence restriction cannot be maintained. The upshot, then, is that we have been unable to come up with a unique semantic context for a-prefixing: that is, a syntactic environment in which a-prefixing is permissible but a parallel non-a-prefixed participle is not. The basis for a formal, syntatically motivated distinction of the type set forth by Feagin is not plausible.

Unable to motivate a unique semantic category associated with a-prefix, we may now consider the more elusive question of whether the a-prefix may fill some special, albeit non-unique function in conversational discourse. There are several proposals that might be considered from this perspective. As a part of this extended study of a-prefixing, we have constructed a native speaker intuition task related to the question of "intensity". In this task, native speakers from Appalachia were given a selection task comparable to that reported in Wolfram (1981). They were asked to choose between sets of sentence pairs as to the appropriate context for the use of the a-prefix.[2] Five different sentence types were included in the task. First of all, there were sentences which represented the categorical syntactic and phonological restrictions on a-prefixing presented earlier. Thus, subjects were

asked to select the appropriate form for a-prefix given a sentence pair such as Bessie went sailing / Bessie likes sailing. These were included as a control set since they had been established as critical to the parameters of grammaticality for the form. Next was a group of sentences which represented a contrast between intensifying and limiting adverbs such as He was really starin' at the picture / He was only starin' at the picture. Another contrast was set up between specific/intensive verbs and more generic verbs, such as I heard him fussin' about taxes and I heard him talkin' about taxes. The final two sets of sentence pairs contrasted assertive versus negative sentences (e.g. John was talkin' so loud my eardrums hurt /John wasn't talkin' loud enough to hear) and assertive versus question sentences (e.g. She was goin' to the show / Was she goin' to the show?). The selection task was then administered to 31 native AE speakers, and the results are presented in Table 6.1.

The results of this task are quite instructive for our consideration of the hypothesis concerning intensity. At the one extreme are the responses for the control sentences, where the patterning of selection reponses unquestionably favors the syntactically and phonologically permissible structures. Intensifying adverbs is the only other category that shows a sigrificant response pattern, but it is clearly not as dramatic as that shown for the categorical syntactic and phonological patterns. The other sentence types do not show any significant pattern, although there is usually a non-significant preference for the more intensive sentence type (intense verbs versus generic verbs, assertive versus non-assertive). Without too much presumption, this strikes us as the type of pattern we might expect for a form that marks, without

TYPE	RESPONSE		LEVEL OF SIGN. (X^2)
I. Syntactic and Phonological Restrictions			
A. Verbal/Nominal (e.g. Bessie went a-sailin'/ *Bessie likes a-sailin')	31	0	.001
B. Verbal/Adjective (e.g. The woman was a-runnin' down the stairs /*The movie was just a-shockin')	29	2	.001
C. Stress/Unstress (e.g. The man was a-hollerin' at the dogs/ *The man was a-confessin' the crime)	25	6	.001
II. Intensifying Adverbs	24	7	.01
Maximizing/Minimizing (e.g. He was really a-starin' at the picture/He was only a-starin' at the picture)	25	6	.001
	20	11	*
	24	7	.01
III. Intensifying Verbs	11	20	*
Descriptive/Generic (e.g. I heard him a-fussin' about taxes/ I heard him a-talkin' about taxes)	19	12	*
	14	17	*
	20	11	*
IV. Assertive/Negative (e.g. John was a-talkin' so loud my eardrums hurt/John wasn't a-talkin' loud enough to hear)	20	11	*
	14	17	*
V. Assertive/Question (e.g. She was a-goin' to the show/Was she a-goin' to the show?)	19	12	*
	21	10	*

* indicates significance level above .05

Table 6.1. Native Speaker Intuitions of a-Prefixing

setting off uniquely, a stylistic function of intensity. Our recent data, then, suggest that we may have been too haste in discounting the use of the a-prefix in the role of an intensifier. However, we still have no basis for maintaining that this is a unique semantic category.

Nonetheless, there does appear to be an unmarked pragmatic reading of intensification for the a-prefix, or at least a strong preference for choosing a-prefixing with intensifying adverbs. Although this may seem like a very tempered conclusion regarding the semantic/pragmatic use of a-prefixing, it is, at this point, the one most consonant with the data at hand.

Finally, we should say something about the possible use of this form as a kind of stylistic indicator of vernacular style. While Feagin considers this as an alternative to the intensifier hypothesis, we do not view this to be a mutually exclusive choice. We certainly would expect that the narration of stories with dramatic vividness would give rise to older, more vernacular forms as a part of this stylistic manipulation. Again, however, we do not see a clear-cut genre classification. Our previous tabulation (Wolfram 1980: 140) indicated that approximately two-thirds of the a-prefixing forms were located in narrative discourse within our interviews. That distribution may be sufficient to suggest a discourse preference but it is hardly adequate to conclude that the forms are restricted to particular discourse styles. In fact, we have a-prefixed forms in a wide variety of conversational and discourse styles.

If a-prefixing participated along a stylistic dimension, we would expect its occurrence to reveal the sequential distribution reflective of stylistic shifting. In other words, we would expect patterned

sequences of a-prefixing usage and non-usage rather than "randomly" distributed occurrences of the form. To examine this dimension, we considered the sequenced tabulation of a-prefixed forms for four different speakers in terms of the actualization of a-prefixed forms in relation to the potential occurrences. Two speakers are from Appalachia and two from the Ozarks. Sequences for adverbial complements and progressives are given for the entire interviews, with + indicating the occurrence of an a-prefix and - indicating a permissible phonological or syntactic participle in which the a- prefix was not realized.

Subject 205 (AE 81 Year Old Female)

Progressives	Adverbs
--+---+--+-+++----+-++	----+++++++--

Subject 40a (OE 80 Year Old Male)

Progressive	Adverb
+---+-+--+---+---+----+-+	-++----+++++--
---------++----+---------	++++-+-----
--+--+-	

Subject 212 (AE 90 Year Old Male)

Progressive	Adverb
--++--+--+-+---++	-+-+++-+-+-

Subject 5 (OE 77 Year Old Male)

Progressive	Adverb
-----+---+-+---+	-+-++--+------+++-

Based solely on the sequence of a-prefixed forms, we can isolate some patterns suggestive of stylistic shifting. For example, Subject 205 has no a-prefixing on the first four a-prefixing adverbial complements, then a-prefixing on the next 8 instances, finishing with

two more forms without the a-prefix. Subject 40 has a somewhat similar sequence with adverbs, having several series of a-prefixed and non-a-prefixed forms. These patterns represent the kind of clustering expected in systematic shifting between forms in response to some extra-linguistic constraint rather than inherent variability. Speakers with significant levels of a-prefixing are not the only ones who reveal this kind of sequential clustering. In fact, some of the speakers with lower levels of a-prefixing are among those who most dramatically reveal this pattern. Consider, for example, the case of Subject AE 213, who has only five instances of a-prefixing out of 70 potential cases. Four of these are clustered together in the following passage:

> ...and I just stood there a minute and here came a big mule with his ears a-floppin' and a man a-leadin' it and somebody on the saddle. And it was a fellow that went in there a-coon huntin' that night, said he was goin' a-coon huntin'. (p. 25)

This kind of clustering for a-prefixing certainly suggests a pattern of stylistic shifting extending beyond the kind of alternation in inherently variable items. On the other hand, Subjects 212 and 5 show a more intermittent distribution of such forms, one more reflective of inherently variable forms not subject to drastic serial shifting of the sort discussed above. An attempt to find serialization indicative of a switching pattern in these instances ends in a futile search. Instead, we are confronted with genuine inherent variability across styles.

Assuming that this is an accurate reflection of the status of a-prefixing, what can we conclude? Again, our conclusion is not particularly neat, but hopefully in tune with the empirical data. What we suggest is that the a-prefix may be used by some speakers as a stylistic device to mark the older vernacular. Presumably, this is what Feagin is

referring to when she says that "it occurs here because the speaker is caught up in his own thoughts and lets slip older, more rural forms" (Feagin 1979:115). At the same time, the structure may be used as a stylistic device to "add color and immediacy to the story" (Feagin 1979:114) in a way consonant with what we have discussed above as intensive. As mentioned previously, we do not view these alternatives as dissonant. Instead, it may be one way of reconciling the linguistic past with the present as speakers grapple with the meaning and significance of changing forms. As forms become less frequent, they may take on specialized significance as stylistic indicators. This is, in fact, how some speakers may be using the form. At the same time, other speakers continue to use the form as an inherent part of their variable system. The change from one status to another is not always neat and discrete. Some speakers may be using it solely in an inherently variable way; other speakers may use it primarily as a stylistic indicator of the older vernacular; stillI others, however, may use it in both ways as they proceed through a transitional period in the changing of the form. The nature of this apparent change will be taken up in the next sections.

Variation and Change in a-Prefixing

In the preceding sections, we examined the qualitative parameters of a-prefixing, setting forth the syntactic and phonological structures in which it can occur and the possible semantic/pragmatic functions that it may perform. At this point, we want to turn to some of the quantitative parameters of this form, since it is a structure that is quite variable in the speech of those who use it.

Traditionally, two kinds of parameters have been shown to affect the relative frequency of variable linguistic forms: extralinguistic or social variables and independent linguistic variables. We shall see that both of these are at play in examining the incidence of a-prefixing. The major social variable to be considered here is age, since it is a structure which may be undergoing change as reflected in an apparent time frame (Labov 1966). The major independent linguistic variables to be considered are the grammatical structures in which a-prefixing may occur and the surrounding phonological environment. While the relationship of extralinguistic and independent linguistic variables in a formal linguistic representation may be in theoretical dispute (Wolfram and Fasold 1974; Sankoff 1978, etc), it is quite clear that our understanding of the dynamic dimension of a-prefixing in AE and OE is dependent upon an examination of these intersecting parameters, and our ensuing discussion will not attempt to separate them artificially. In fact, the examination of systematic change forces us to consistently treat the variable of age and independent linguistic variables together.

The Occurrence of a-Prefixing by Age

As a starting point, we can look at the distribution of a-prefixing according to the variable of age. As stated in Chapter One, we set up the study to obtain data from five different age groups: 10-15, 16-30, 31-50, 51-70, and above 70 (71-91). Overall, we have considered a-prefixing for 57 AE subjects and 39 OE speakers. In Table 6.2, we have indicated the distribution of a-prefixing for the AE and OE subjects according to these age categories. Two different kinds of preliminary tabulations are given in Table 6.2. First of all, a simple tabulation of

	AE		OE	
	SPEAKERS WITH A-PREFIXING	MORE THAN THREE OCCURRENCES	SPEAKERS WITH A-PREFIXING	MORE THAN THREE OCCURRENCES
AGE	NO./TOT SUB.	NO./TOT SUB.	NO./TOT SUB.	NO./TOT SUB.
10-15	5/18	3/18	0/8	0/8
16-30	2/12	1/12	5/10	1/10
31-50	7/8	4/8	5/7	3/7
51-70	9/9	7/9	7/7	6/7
70+	10/10	7/10	7/7	7/7
Under 25	6/28	3/28	2/14	0/13
25-50	8/10	5/10	8/11	4/11
Above 50	19/19	14/19	14/14	13/14

Table 6.2. Distribution of a-Prefixing by Age Category

all speakers using a-prefixing is given. A second tabulation indicates the distribution of speakers who have more than three occurrences of a-prefixing in their corpus. The distinction between speakers who use it more than three times from those who use it less allows us to separate the possible "vestigial" users of the form from those who use it at more significant levels. Typically, speakers who use it three or less times in an interview of approximately an hour reveal it at frequency levels of less than 5 per cent of all those instances in which they might have used it, and those who have more than three occurrences use it at more significant frequency levels.

In addition to the tabulation in terms of the five different age levels set up for our survey, we have set up a three-way age classification in Table 6.2, speakers under 25, speakers 26-50 and speakers above 50. This gives a slightly different picture of a-prefixing distribution, and one which perhaps aligns the groups more on the basis of the a-prefixing than the predetermined age categories.

Several important observations can be made on the basis of Table 6.2. First of all, we see a clear-cut discrepancy between the age groups. All of the speakers above 50 have at least vestigial incidence of a-prefixing, and only a minority of speakers under 25 use the form at all. As we might predict, speakers in the 25-50 range fall in between these extremes, with a greater likelihood that they will use it than not. This looks very much like a fairly classic case of a dying form, one which might soon become extinct for the younger generations. The only other possible interpretation is that the use of a-prefixing is an age-graded phenomenon, a form that becomes more prominent as speakers reach an older age group. This is not altogether unreasonable, given

the kind of functions that a-prefixing might fulfill for its users as specified in the previous section. However, there are several considerations that have to be taken into account if this distribution pattern is attributed solely to age-grading. One consideration is the fact that there are some younger speakers who do use the form, particularly in Appalachia. Miles (1980), in an intra-family study of a-prefixing, shows that 10-14 year old speakers in a-prefixing families may, in fact, use it more than some speakers in their mid-twenties to mid-forties. This is hardly a pattern indicative of age-grading. Although we cannot rule out entirely the possibility of age-grading without a longitudinal study, the current evidence argues more strongly for a generational change.

Table 6.2 suggests that change may be taking place more rapidly in OE than AE. All of the OE speakers above 50 have some occurrence of a-prefixing, and none of the speakers under 15 reveal any occurrences of the form, indicating a rather abrupt change. On the other hand, the AE speakers show a more gradual shift, with some younger speakers retaining the form. This also matches Miles (1980) observation for AE. While the data here support this conclusion, we must offer a word of caution. The sample for both groups does not represent a randomly distributed representation of AE and OE, so that it is possible that the selection of subjects for the study may have biased the results. Furthermore, the topics discussed with the adolescents tended to be somewhat different from the adults, with shorter, non-narrative responses. Nonetheless, it appears that a-prefixing is probably undergoing change faster in OE than in AE.

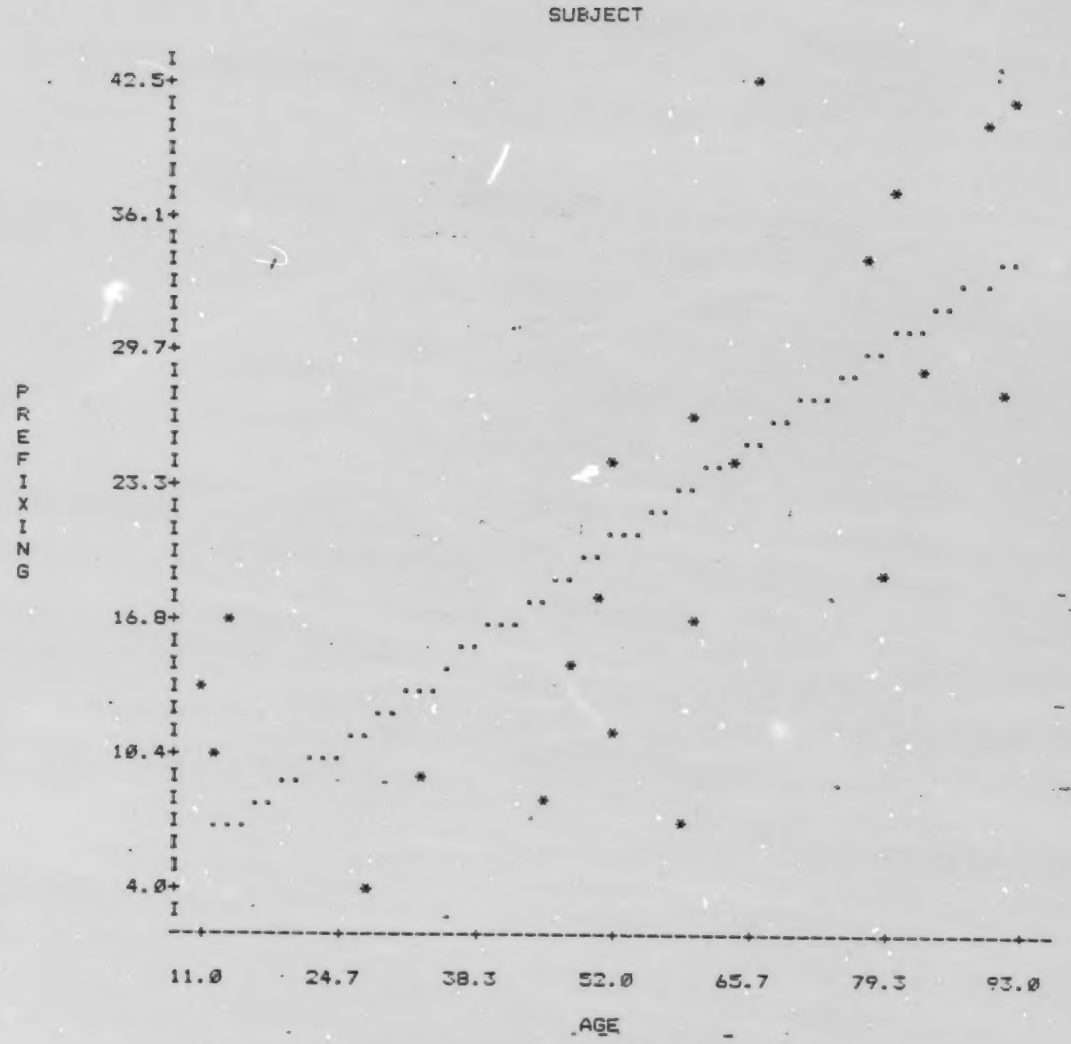
The occurrence of a-prefixing as found in Table 6.2 does not consider the relative frequency with which the form occurs, other than an arbitrary cut-off point between vestigial and non-vestigial usage. In Table 6.3, we consider the relative frequency of usage for all significant (i.e. non-vestigial) users. Speakers are listed by rank order. In Figures 6.1 and 6.2, a correlational analysis for age and a-prefixing incidence is given, including the scatterplot.

Table 6.3 and Figures 6.1 and 6.2 are the basis for several conclusions about the relative usage of a-prefixing in the two communities. In both AE and OE, the a-prefix is highly variable, typically occurring on less than half of all structures on which it might occur. In fact, there are only two OE speakers who use a-prefixing in more than half of all its potential occurrences. In both communities there is also a correlation with age, with a strong correlation for the AE community and a moderate correlation for the OE community. The higher level of correlation in the AE community may be attributed to the fact that this comparision only considers variable usage, so that speakers who have categorical absence are eliminated from the comparison. This eliminates more younger speakers for OE than AE. Were the categorical cases of absence considered, the correlation in OE would probably be higher. Parenthetically, we may note here that an exploratory analysis of the variable of sex does not turn up any significant differences related to this variable.

The pattern of age and a-prefixing usage is again suggestive of generational change rather than age-grading, since the older speakers use the form at a higher frequency level and the younger speakers at a lower level. Age-grading would be more likely to show a pattern where

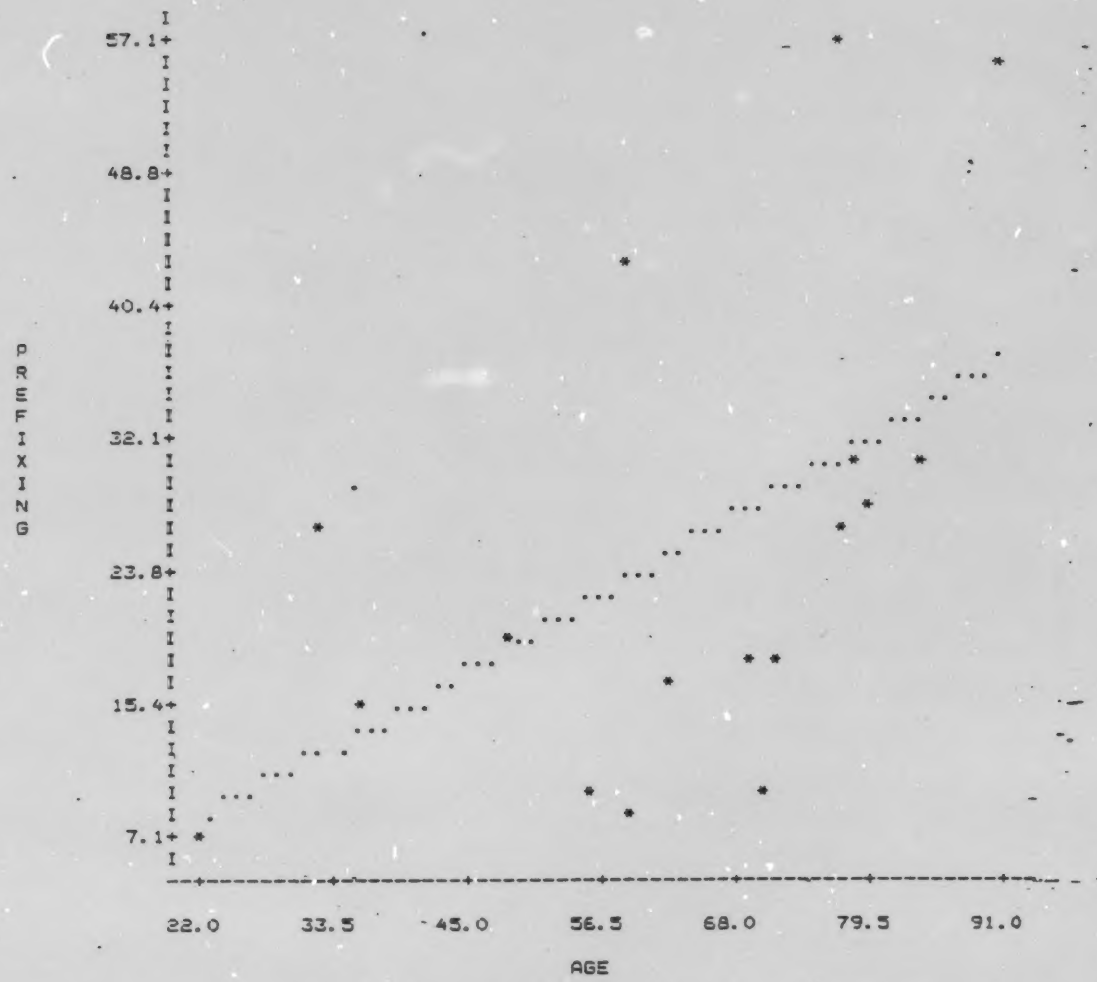
AE				OE			
SUBJ.	AGE/SEX	NO./TOT.	%	SUBJ.	AGE/SEX	NO./TOT	%
31	67M	17/40	42.5	1A	77M	8/14	57.1
83	93F	19/46	41.3	1B	91F	14/25	56.0
212	90M	13/32	40.6	41B	59F	7/16	43.8
205	81F	17/46	37.0	32	78F	4/13	30.8
85	78F	25/73	34.2	40B	84F	4/13	30.8
153	83F	12/42	28.6	40A	80M	26/92	28.3
215	91M	16/58	27.6	5	77M	12/45	26.7
22	60M	21/79	26.6	23	32M	8/30	26.7
152	64F	14/58	24.1	36	48M	8/41	19.5
157	52F	15/63	23.8	28	71F	7/38	18.4
209	80F	6/32	18.8	29	69M	8/45	17.8
30	50M	14/78	17.9	41A	62M	10/58	17.2
44	14M	9/53	17.0	35A	36M	4/25	16.0
206	60F	11/65	16.9	30	70F	4/38	10.5
207	48M	6/40	15.0	33	55M	6/63	9.6
124	11M	10/73	13.7	25	59M	6/72	8.3
146	52M	9/78	11.5	22	22M	5/70	7.1
2	13M	9/84	10.7				
29	33F	9/93	9.7				
203	45F	4/46	8.7				
213	59M	5/66	7.6				
36	27F	6/151	4.0				

Table 6.3. The Incidence of A-Prefixing in AE and OE



Mean of X = 56.86	Correlation coefficient = 0.73	Valid cases = 22
S.D. of X = 24.89	Degrees of freedom = 20	Missing cases = 0
Mean of Y = 21.72	Slope of regression line = 0.34	Response % = 100
S.D. of Y = 11.50	Y intercept = 2.43	

Figure 6.1. Correlation of Age and Incidence of a-Prefixing for AE Speakers



Mean of X = 62.94	Correlation coefficient = 0.54	Valid cases = 17
S.D. of X = 18.74	Degrees of freedom = 15	Missing cases = 0
Mean of Y = 24.98	Slope of regression line = 0.42	Response % = 100
S.D. of Y = 14.84	Y intercept =-1.77	

Figure 6.2. Correlation of Age and Incidence of a-Prefixing for OE Speakers

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speakers in different age categories show significant differences from each other, but not a relationship along an age continuum, as we have here.

The comparison of the frequency levels for a-prefixing in AE and OE does not reveal any significant differences. The mean frequency level for the two groups (25.0 per cent for OE and 21.7 for AE) and range levels (from 57.1 to 7.1 for OE and from 42.5 to 4.0) are fairly parallel. This leads us to the conclusion that there are no significant differences in the overall frequency levels of a-prefixing in these two communities. Up to this point, we have found very little different in a-prefixing in the two communities other than the possible rate of change. We now turn to the more specific independent linguistic constraints on the variability of a-prefixing.

Linguistic Constraints on Variability

Previous studies of a-prefixing (Wolfram and Christian 1975; Wolfram 1980) have indicated that there may be both phonological and grammatical category constraints systematically affecting the incidence of a-prefixing. The major phonological constraint posited to affect the variability of the a-prefix was the preceding shape, namely, whether the word preceding the a-prefix ended in a vowel or consonant (Recall that the other phonological constraints were categorical and thus part of the defining parameters for the rule.).

In Table 6.4 and Figure 6.3, the effect of the preceding consonant versus vowel is considered for four age groups of AE speakers and three age groups of OE speakers. Since there are no speakers under 25 in OE who use a-prefixing at significant frequency levels, we do not include tabulations for this group.

	AE			OE	
SUBJ.	C##__	V##__	SUBJ.	C##__	V##__
		UNDER 25			
2	9/78	0/6			
124	10/73	0/6			
44	9/49	0/4			
TOT.	28/200	0/16			
%	(14.0)	(0.0)			
		25-50			
203	4/43	0/3	22	3/64	2/6
207	5/34	1/6	23	8/28	0/2
30	14/67	0/11	35A	3/22	1/3
29	9/85	0/8	36	8/40	0/1
36	5/140	1/11			
TOT.	24/369	2/39		22/154	3/12
%	(6.5)	(5.1)		(14.3)	(25.0)
		51-70			
213	4/53	1/13	25	4/65	2/7
206	8/54	3/8	29	7/43	1/2
22	19/75	2/4	30	4/36	0/2
31	17/36	0/4	33	4/58	2/5
146	8/62	1/16	41A	10/57	0/1
152	14/58	-/-	41B	6/13	1/3
157	15/59	0/4			
TOT.	85/397	7/49		35/272	6/20
%	(21.4)	(14.3)		(12.9)	(30.0)
		OVER 70			
212	12/30	1/2	40A	24/88	2/4
215	14/55	2/3	40B	2/8	2/5
209	5/29	1/3	28	7/38	-/-
153	10/40	0/2	32	3/12	1/1
85	19/64	6/9	1A	7/13	1/1
83	19/40	0/6	1B	13/21	1/4
TOT.	93/299	13/30		68/222	7/18
%	(31.1)	(43.3)		(30.6)	(38.9)

Table 6.4 A-Prefixing Frequency Based on Preceding Environment; By Age Group and Region

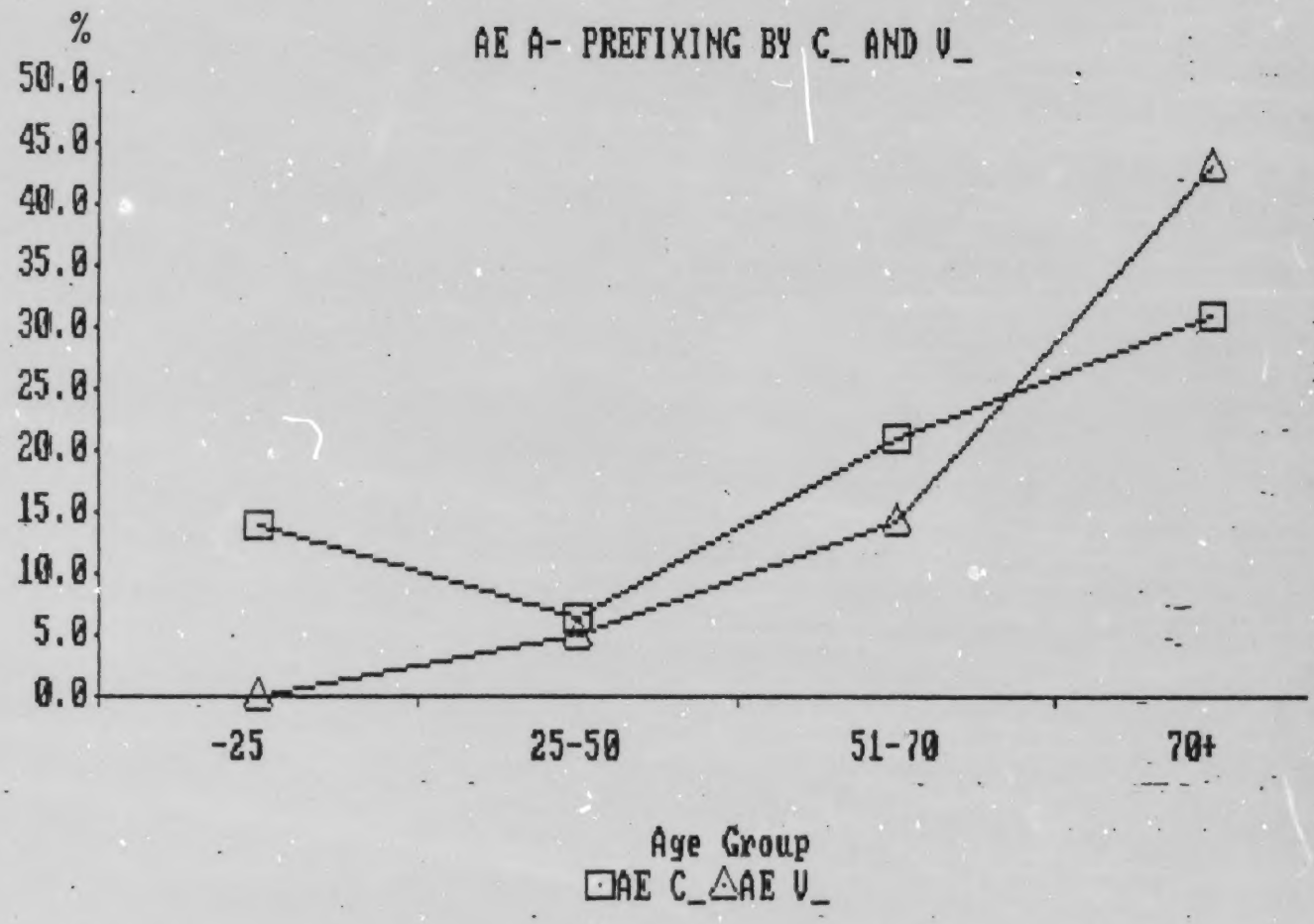


Figure 6.3a. A-Prefixing Frequency by Preceding Environment for Four Age Groups of AE Speakers

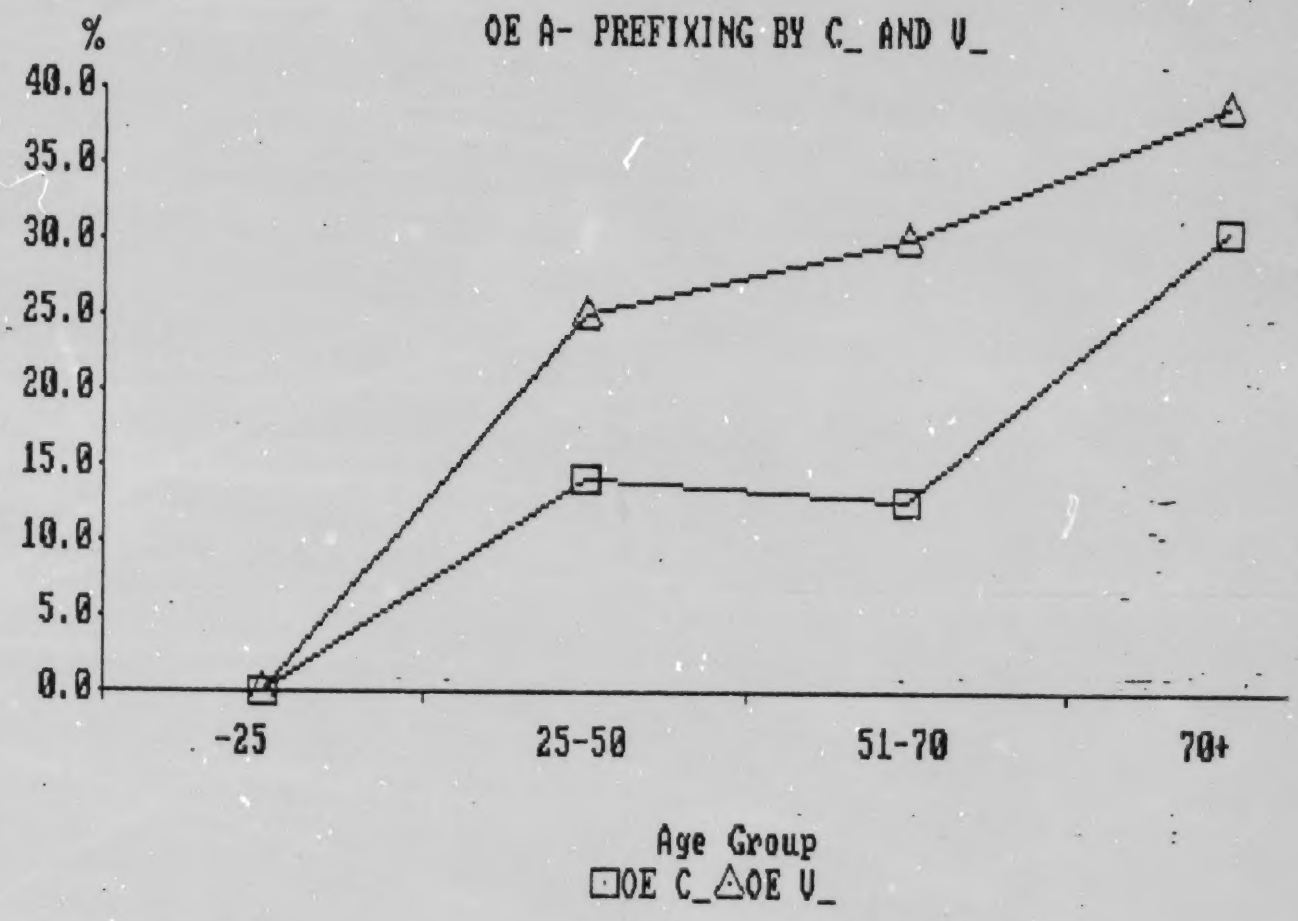


Figure 6.3b. A-Prefixing Frequency by Preceding Environment for Three Age Groups of OE Speakers

It is somewhat difficult to interpret the results from Table 6.4, given their disparate distribution. Certainly, the results do not match the neat pattern reported in Wolfram (1980), where a preceding consonant was shown to favor the incidence of the a-prefix. In fact, four of the seven group tabulations reveal more a-prefixing following a vowel than a consonant, although at non-significant levels of differentiation. None of the OE groups reveal a preceding consonant favoring a-prefixing. The most cautious conclusion is that there is no systematic effect based on the preceding phonological context.

A less cautious speculation, based admittedly on tenuous data, is that different groups or individuals structure the constraint of the preceding environment in different ways. The oldest groups of speakers certainly do not favor a-prefixing following consonants, whereas the younger groups of speakers may favor its incidence in this environment. For the older speakers, its grammatical status as a preposition is fairly secure, perhaps making the form less vulnerable to an apparently natural phonological constraint (i.e. vowel sequences across word boundaries will tend to elide). On the other hand, younger speakers, for whom the grammatical status of the form is less secure, might restructure its usage more in line with the natural phonological process, thus favoring a- retention following consonants.

Another possible explanation may be found in the types of vowels typically preceding the a-. Most frequently, the items end in an [i] (e.g. be a-fightin') or [o] (e.g. you a-fightin'). These vowels are quite susceptible to transitional glides (i.e. [iy] and [ow]), thus making them less vulnerable to expected vowel elision. At this point, we can only offer these as possible hypotheses to be examined with more

comprehensive data, particularly for the younger a-prefixing users. We are fairly secure in our conclusion that the older speakers do not particularly favor a-prefix following consonants, but not as secure in our conclusion that the younger speakers reveal this systematic constraint.

Our previous study of a-prefixing also identified several constraints based on the surface grammatical category. In the present study, we identify four different surface categories as possible constraints on the variability of a-prefixing: 1) progressives (e.g. He was a-huntin'); 2) adverbs (e.g. He had fun a-huntin'); 3) movement complements and keep (e.g. She went a-fishin'); and 4) gonna (e.g. He's a-gonna try it). The relative incidence of a-prefixing is given for the different age groups of AE speakers in Table 6.5 and for the OE age groups in Table 6.6, and a comparison of the two groups is given in Figures 6.4 and 6.5.

The data revealed in Tables 6.5 and 6.6 again show somewhat of a mixed picture when compared across age groups. The most consistent pattern is the low frequency of a-prefixing with gonna, which is maintained for all of the age groups in both the AE and OE communities. In fact, the majority of the speakers appear to have no occurrence of a-prefixing with gonna at all, and only a few speakers in the older groups have any significant levels of usage. There are two possible explanations for the overall inhibiting environment of gonna. First of all, gonna is a marginal participle, and in many respects functions more as a "quasi-modal" than a participle (cf. Labov et al. 1968). In fact, we suspect that some of the speakers are not treating it as a participle at all, and thus it may not be eligible for a-prefixing for these speakers. At any rate, its more marginal status as a participle may make it a less

SUBJ.	PROG.	GONNA	MOV.	ADV.	TOT.	%
			UNDER 25			
2	2/50	0/3	6/25	1/6	9/84	10.7
124	1/44	0/1	9/18	0/10	10/73	13.7
44	1/36	0/1	5/9	3/7	9/53	14.0
TOT	4/130	0/5	20/52	4/23	27/210	
%	(3.8)	(0.0)	(38.5)	(17.4)	(13.3)	
			25-50			
203	3/24	0/4	1/5	0/13	4/46	8.7
207	4/12	0/10	0/3	2/14	6/39	15.0
30	6/47	0/4	3/10	5/17	14/78	17.9
29	5/65	0/9	1/10	3/9	9/93	9.7
36	3/71	0/28	0/8	3/44	6/151	4.0
TOT	21/219	0/55	5/36	13/97	39/407	
%	(9.6)	(0.0)	(13.9)	(13.4)	(9.6)	
			51-70			
213	1/32	0/3	1/7	3/24	5/66	7.6
206	7/40	0/5	0/5	4/15	11/65	16.9
22	17/63	-/-	0/4	4/12	21/79	26.6
31	9/21	3/6	2/5	3/8	17/40	42.5
146	5/50	0/5	0/10	4/13	9/78	11.5
152	10/39	0/3	2/5	2/11	14/58	24.1
157	10/41	0/6	0/3	5/13	15/63	23.8
TOT.	59/286	3/28	5/39	25/96	92/449	
%	(20.6)	(10.7)	(12.8)	(26.0)	(20.5)	
			OVER 70			
212	7/17	0/1	0/3	6/11	13/32	40.6
215	10/37	0/4	1/2	5/15	16/58	27.6
205	9/22	0/9	0/1	8/14	17/46	37.0
209	1/15	0/3	1/1	4/13	6/32	18.8
153	6/28	0/3	2/3	4/8	12/42	28.6
85	14/50	1/4	4/4	6/15	25/73	34.2
83	12/29	3/7	3/7	1/3	19/46	41.3
TOT.	59/198	4/31	11/21	34/79	108/329	
%	(29.8)	(12.9)	(52.4)	(43.1)	(32.8)	

Table. 6.5. Frequency of A-Prefixing by Grammatical Category for AE Speakers; By Age Groups

SUBJ.	PROG.	GONNA	MOV.	ADV.	TOT	%
			25-50			
22	4/34	0/1	0/5	1/30	5/70	7.1
23	0/7	0/1	1/2	7/20	8/30	26.7
35A	2/14	0/4	-/-	2/7	4/25	16.0
36	2/23	0/2	-/-	6/16	8/41	19.5
TOT	8/78	0/8	1/7	16/73	25/166	
%	(10.3)	(0.0)	(14.2)	(21.9)	(15.1)	
			51-70			
25	4/28	0/5	1/6	1/33	6/72	8.3
29	4/23	1/10	-/-	3/12	8/45	17.8
30	4/31	0/1	-/-	0/6	4/38	10.5
33	4/41	0/7	0/2	2/13	6/63	9.6
41A	3/32	1/6	1/3	5/17	10/58	17.2
41B	5/10	-/-	1/2	1/4	7/16	43.8
TOT.	24/165	2/29	3/13	12/85	41/292	
%	(14.5)	(6.9)	(23.1)	(14.1)	(14.0)	
			OVER 70			
40A	13/57	1/9	0/1	12/25	26/92	28.3
40B	2/7	1/2	1/2	0/2	4/13	30.8
5	4/16	0/4	1/9	7/16	12/45	26.7
28	4/21	1/8	2/4	0/5	7/38	18.4
32	1/4	-/-	-/-	3/9	4/13	30.8
1A	5/7	-/-	0/2	3/5	8/14	57.1
1B	7/11	0/3	0/1	7/10	14/25	56.0
TOT.	36/123	3/26	4/19	32/72	75/240	
%	(29.3)	(11.5)	(21.1)	(44.4)	(31.3)	

Table 6.6. Frequency of A-Prefixing by Grammatical Category for OE Speakers; By Age Group.

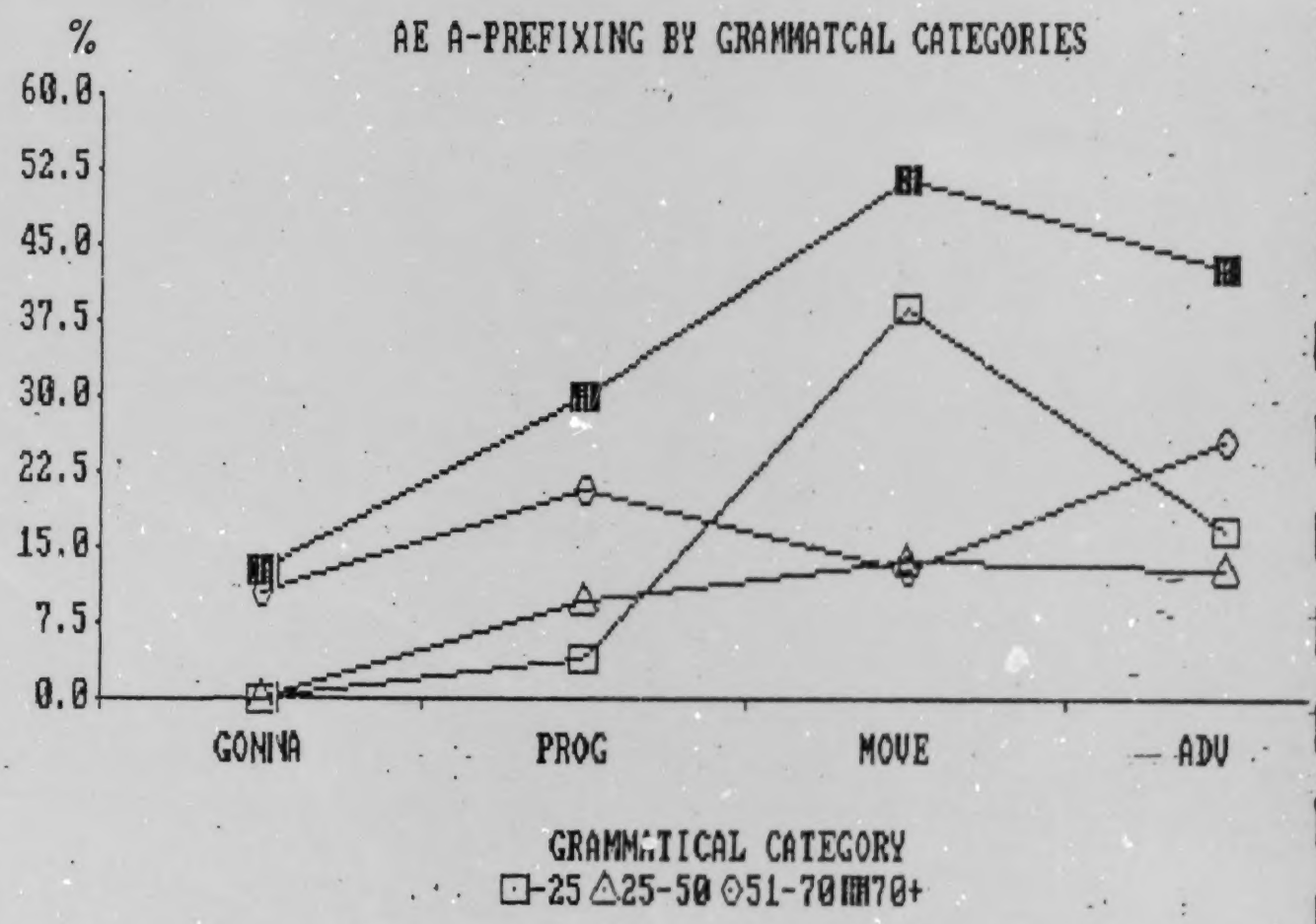


Figure 6.4. A-Prefixing by Grammatical Categories for AE Speakers

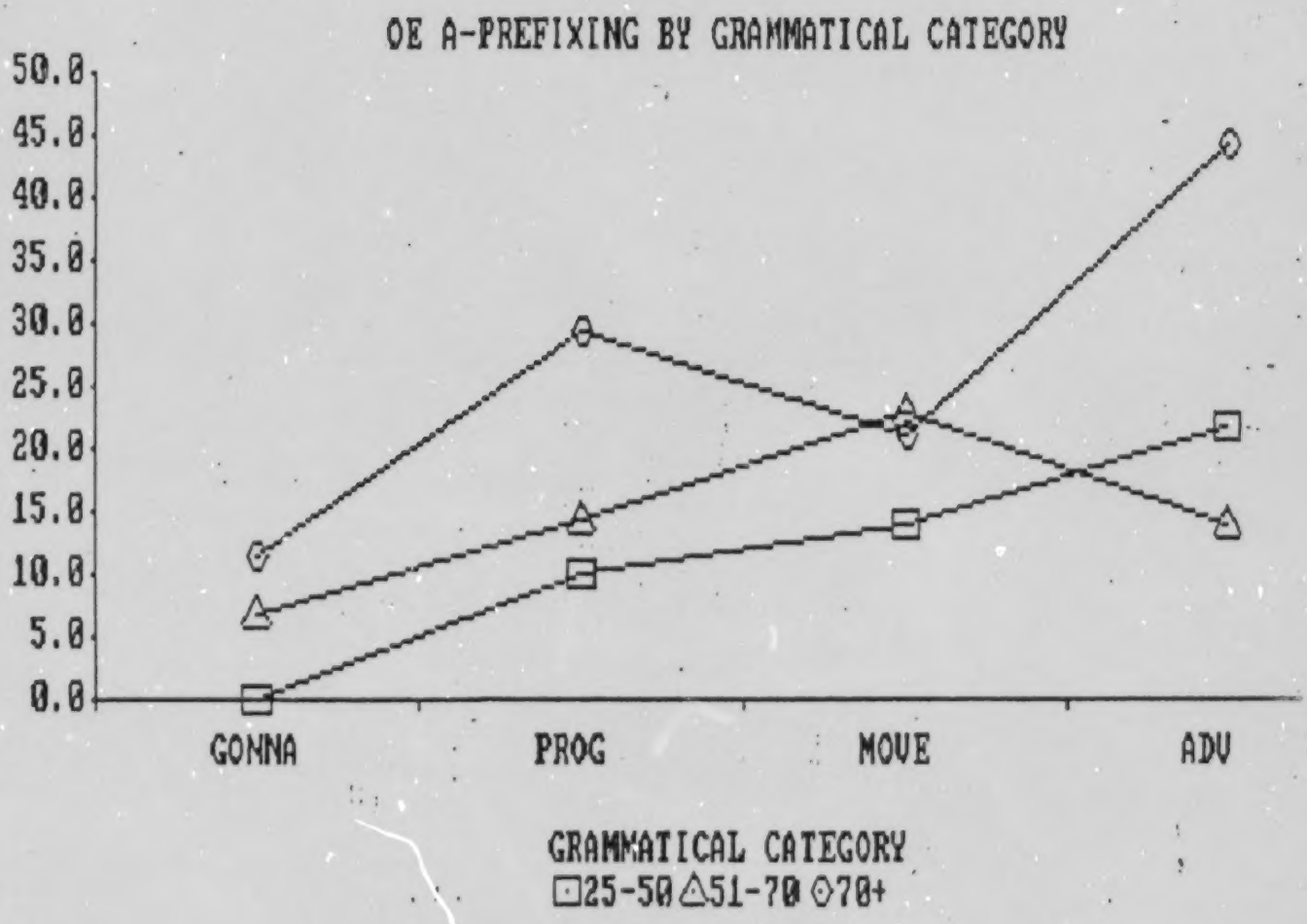


Figure 6.5. A-Prefixing by Grammatical Categories for OE Speakers

likely candidate for a-prefixing. It is also noted that gonna is often a relatively unstressed constituent in phrasal stress patterns (e.g. In a sentence such as He's gonna try it, gonna would be a relatively unstressed unit). We have already seen that a-prefixing does not occur when preceding an unstressed syllable, and although we cannot equate word stress with phrasal stress, the general effect of stress may be parallel. The phonological and syntactic explanations are not, of course, mutually exclusive, and they may reinforce each other as the basis for this inhibition of a-prefixing with gonna.

The other constraint patterns based on grammatical category are not nearly as definitive, although the categories of movement and adverb seem to favor a-prefixing over progressives, particularly for the younger speakers. Constraint patterns for the oldest are particularly inconsistent, other than the case of gonna. Younger speakers, and speakers with less overall incidence of a-prefixing, however, seem to selectively maintain one or two environments for a-prefixing usage while eliminating it in other environments. For example, AE Speaker 124, an 11 year old male, has 50 per cent of all movement verbs with a-prefixing but rarely, if ever, uses it in progressives or adverbs. AE Speaker 36, a 27 year old female who uses a-prefixing infrequently, limits its occurrence to progressives or adverbs. This selectivity appears to indicate that the environmental limitations of the form reduce as it undergoes change. This kind of pattern is, of course, in keeping with the traditional notion of language change. What is more surprising is the apparent selectivity of the process, and the fact that significant levels of a-prefixing may be maintained in one environment while a-prefixing in another environment is eliminated. The systematic change

does not always proceed in linear regression, in which environments in which a-prefixing is less frequent are gradually eliminated. Instead, there may be some redistribution of a-prefixing cases, so that one environment is eliminated for a-prefixing, but another environment is maintained at a significant level. Some speakers may maintain the adverb environment while eliminating progressive and movement environments while others may choose the movement environment for retention. We can predict only that gonna will be an early environment for elimination. If there is any systematic pattern to this choice, we would say that OE speakers seem to prefer maintenance with adverbs and AE speakers prefer maintenance with movement verbs. The selection process in the change, however, appears to be more individualistic than community-based. The upshot of this observation is that orderly progression of change and variation is not quite so neat as some variationists (cf. Bailey 1973) would have us believe, particularly at the end points of the change.

A-Prefixing and Unstressed Initial A-

In our previous treatment of a-prefixing (Wolfram 1980), the a-prefix was considered to have a special relationship with other unstressed initial syllables. In fact, we concluded that the same process responsible for deleting other unstressed syllables (e.g. because —> 'cause or about —> 'bout) was responsible for deleting an underlying a- prefix that was attached to eligible -ing participles forms. The argument for this was based on the observation that there was an apparent correlation between a- prefix retention and unstressed initial syllable retention. We would like to reopen this issue here by considering a tabulation of a- prefix usage and unstressed initial a- prefix retention to see if

this correlation holds up under closer inspection. In Table 6.7 we have undertaken a special tabulation for unstressed initial a- in terms of items such as about, along, around, afraid, and so forth--items beginning with an unstressed lexical a-. We compare the incidence of retention of these forms with that on a-prefixing to see if there is indeed a relationship. Nine speakers in each of the communities were considered, three with relatively high levels of a-prefixing usage, three with relatively low levels of usage, and three with vestigial or no incidence of a-prefixing. All cases were further distinguished on the basis of the preceding phonological environment, separating preceding non-vowels (typically a consonant as in come a-cryin' and come about) from preceding vowels (e.g. go a-fightin' and go about). The results of this tabulation are presented in Table 6.7 and Figure 6.6. For the 12 speakers in the high and low frequency groups, a correlation analysis is also given in Figure 6.7.

A moderate correlation between a-prefixing and unstressed initial lexical a- retention is indicated in Table 6.7 and Figure 6.6. Speakers who use a-prefixing also tend to retain a higher incidence of unstressed intitial lexical a-. However, the converse does not appear to be true. That is, speakers with high levels of unstressed initial a- retention will not necessarily have a-prefixing. Thus, speakers such as OE 43 and AE 211 have among the highest frequency levels of unstressed lexical a- retention, but little or no a-prefixing. We may thus conclude that a-prefixing is apparently a predictor of unstressed lexical a- retention but not the converse. There are obviously reasons unrelated to a-prefixing as to why a speaker might have higher levels of lexical a-

(a) HIGH FREQUENCY A-PREFIXING USERS

SUBJ	A-PREFIXING				UNSTRESSED A-			
	C##__	V##__	TOT.	%	C##__	V##__	TOT.	%
				AE				
83	19/40	0/6	19/46	41.3	21/27	2/4	23/31	74.2
31	17/36	0/4	17/40	42.5	33/41	3/6	39/47	82.9
212	12/30	1/2	13/32	40.6	19/25	1/6	20/31	64.5
TOT.	48/106	1/12	49/118		73/93	6/16	82/109	
%	(45.3)	(8.3)		(41.5)	(78.4)	(37.5)		(75.2)
				OE				
1A	7/13	1/1	8/14	57.1	22/25	3/5	25/30	83.3
1B	13/21	1/4	14/25	56.0	30/36	0/2	30/38	78.9
32	3/12	1/1	4/13	30.8	13/16	2/6	15/22	68.2
TOT.	23/46	3/6	26/52		65/77	5/13	70/90	
%	(50.0)	(50.0)		(50.0)	(85.7)	(38.5)		(77.8)

(b) LOW FREQUENCY A-PREFIXING USERS

				AE				
213	4/53	1/13	5/66	7.6	39/47	4/8	43/55	78.2
203	4/43	0/3	4/46	8.7	30/41	1/3	31/44	70.5
36	5/140	1/11	6/151	4.0	40/61	1/7	41/68	60.3
TOT.	13/236	2/27	15/263		109/149	6/18	115/167	
%	(5.5)	(7.4)		(5.7)	(73.2)	(33.3		(68.9)
				OE				
22	3/64	2/6	5/70	7.1	19/29	8/12	27/41	65.9
25	4/65	2/7	6/72	8.3	19/31	0/7	19/38	50.0
23	4/58	2/5	6/63	9.5	21/37	1/5	22/42	52.4
TOT.	11/187	6/18	17/205		59/97	9/24	68/121	
%	(5.9)	(33.3)		(8.3)	(60.8)	(37.5)		(56.2)

(c) VESTIGIAL/NO A-PREFIXING

SUBJ	A-PREFIXING				UNSTRESSED A- :			
	C##__	V##__	TOT	%	C##__	V##__	TOT	%
				AE				
35	1/40	-/-	1/40	2.5	33/48	3/3	36/51	70.6
154	2/74	0/5	2/79	2.5	22/44	3/10	25/54	46.3
211	2/94	0/12	2/106	1.9	37/42	2/5	39/47	83.0
TOT.	5/208	0/17	5/225		92/134	8/18	100/152	
%	(2.4)	(0.0)		(2.2)	(68.7)	(44.4)		(65.8)
				OE				
34	0/46	0/3	0/49	0.0	25/33	0/6	25/39	64.1
39	2/42	0/2	2/44	4.6	17/29	1/2	18/31	58.1
43	2/28	0/3	0/31	0.0	16/18	4/6	20/24	83.3
TOT.	2/116	0/10	2/139		58/80	5/14	63/94	
%	(1.7)	(0.0)		(1.4)	(72.5)	(35.7)		(67.0)

Table 6.7. Comparison of a-Prefixing and Unstressed Lexical a- Retention for Select AE and OE Groups

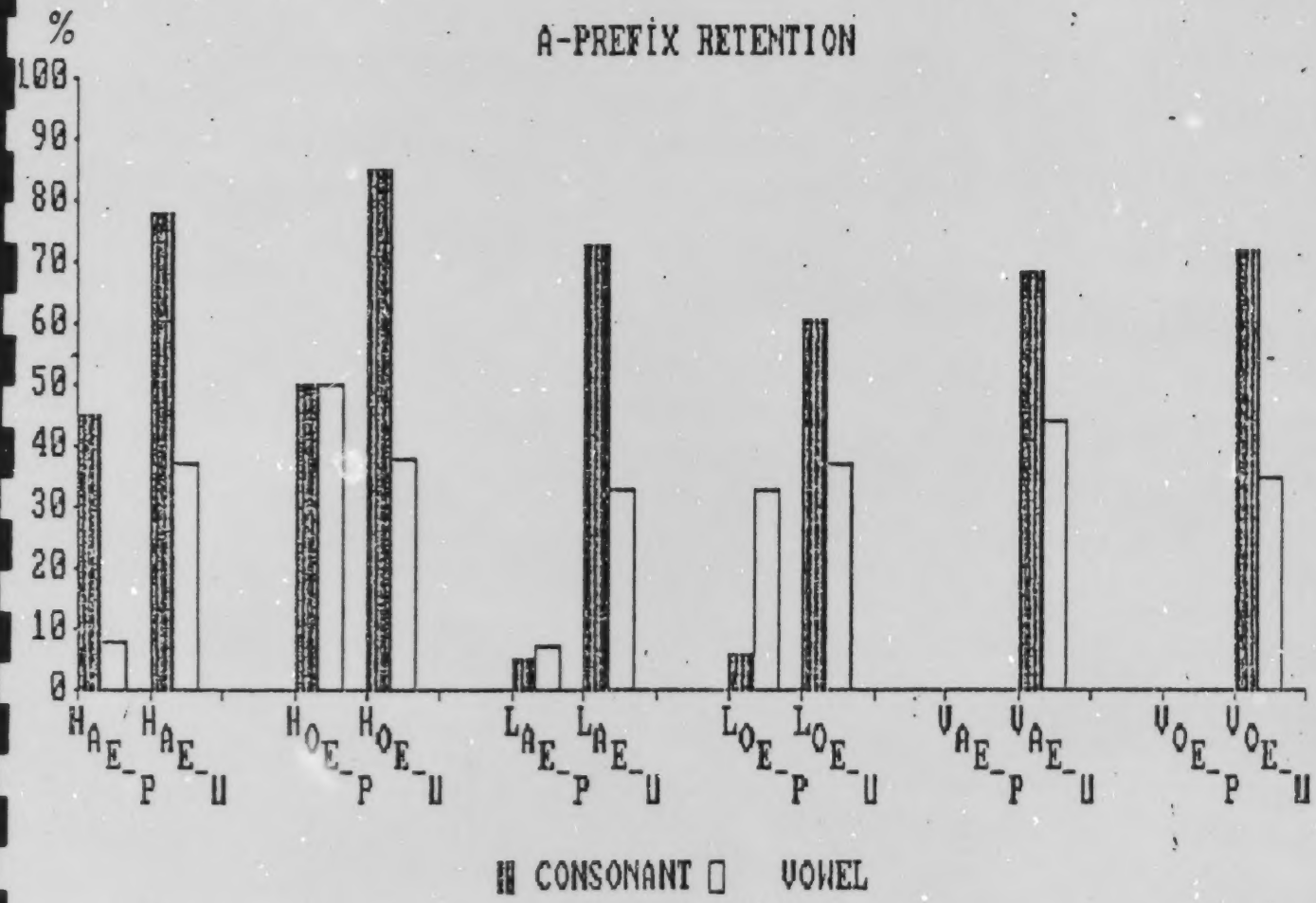
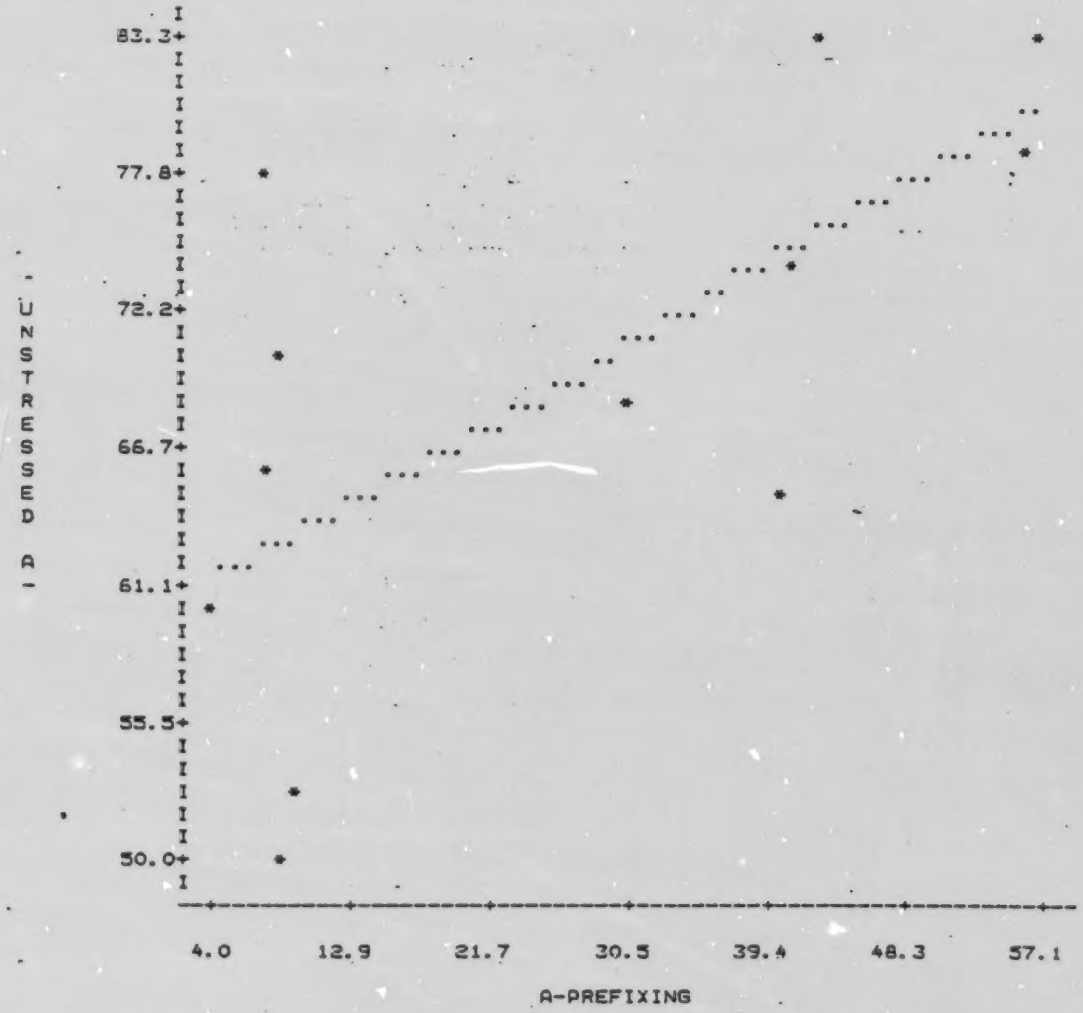


Figure 6.6. Comparison of a-Prefixing (P) and Unstressed Lexical a- Retention (U) for Select AE and OE Groups



Mean of X = 26.13	Correlation coefficient = 0.65	Valid cases = 12
S.D. of X = 19.74	Degrees of freedom = 10	Missing cases = 0
Mean of Y = 69.11	Slope of regression line = 0.35	Response % = 100
S.D. of Y = 10.52	Y intercept = 59.91	

Figure 6.7. Correlation of a-Prefixing and Other Unstressed a- Retention

not the least of which is the standard English norm (e.g. Subject AE 211 is such a case despite his inclusion in this study).

There is also a linguistic reason for viewing a-prefixing and unstressed lexical a- as disjunctive processes, despite the moderate correlation. An examination of the preceding phonological environments for a-prefixing and lexical a- in Table 6.7 and Figure 6.6 shows that they differ significantly in their sensitivity to the preceding environment. Lexical a- is highly sensitive to the preceding context, with a consonant favoring retention. This is true for all group scores and for all speakers with more than five tokens in each phonological context. On the other hand, no such constraint can be found for a-prefixing to parallel this pattern. A-prefixing may be reinforced by lexical a- but it also goes its separate way in some important respects. Perhaps most important is the grammatical function that the form fills. Forms functioning in a grammatical role tend to show less sensitivity to phonological constraints than their parallel lexical forms not fulfilling this function. We are now ready to revise our earlier conclusions about a-prefixing, in which we considered underlying prepositions to be reduced to the a- prefix, and then subject to a deletion process which operated both on a-prefixing and unstressed lexical a-. At this point, it seems most reasonable to simply posit the underlying preposition of a- in the inventory of prepositions. The preposition becomes attached to the participle form (or in some cases, to the auxiliary as a clitic form (e.g. She's a-been workin')) and functions much like other prepositions. The preposition may have analogues with the lexical a-, but it is not linked in an integral linguistic process. Lexical a- and a-prefixing may have had an historical affinity, but they have since parted company.

The divorce may not yet be final, but the separation is at least irrevocable.

Conclusion

Our conclusions regarding a-prefixing relate to three aspects of the form, including a revised linguistic description, a comparison of the form in AE and OE, and a consideration of how the form is undergoing change. Descriptively, we have found that the categorical constraints found in our earlier study (Wolfram and Christian 1975; Wolfram 1980) are fully supported here, including the grammatical and phonological parameters. We have not, however, found the variable constraints to hold up nearly as neatly, on the one hand uncovering a new constraint (viz. gonna) and, on the other hand revising some variable constraints we proposed earlier (viz. the preceding phonological environment). We have also suggested that the linguistic affinity with unstressed lexical a- was now difficult to justify, and have posited a linguisic separation. Semantically, we have also revised our earlier conclusion, suggesting that there may be a stylistic, or at least, pragmatically unmarked reading of intensity. Some speakers may be preserving the form as a special stylistic marker at the same time others may be using it as an inherently variable structure across styles (And, in fact, these two uses may be found in the same speaker, although this is difficult to document empirically.). Our comparison of the form in AE and OE found very little difference in the use of a-prefixing. No substantive differences were found descriptively, and the only difference in the structure across age groups was the reduced occurrence of the form among the younger OE speakers. In fact, we found no younger speakers in OE who

used the form in our interviews at significant levels. Since older speakers of OE and AE have comparable levels of usage, the pattern of age differentiation suggests that change may be taking place more rapidly in OE than in AE, where a minority of younger speakers still use the form at significant levels.

Our examination of the process of change has suggested that variable aspects of change may not be as neat as they have been set forth by those who build structured variation into their dynamic models (e.g. Bailey 1973). For one, there may be a lexical component which must be recognized along with systematic structural constraints (e.g. the role of gonna). We have also uncovered a pattern of selective environment retention which does not suggest a linear regression in the change. As the form dies out, it may be be retained at significant levels in restricted environments rather than be reduced proportionally in the range of environments. The overall low frequency of the form, then, may be a function of selective environmental elimination rather than a gradual decrease in the representative environments, and different speakers may apparently choose different syntactic environments for retention.

Notes to Chapter Six

[1]Following Bolinger (1971), we take the position that all progressives are derived from prepositional phrases. See Bolinger (1971) and Wolfram's (1980) summary of this position for futher elaboration of the formal motivation.

[2]We are indebted to Dwight Bolinger (personal communication) for the suggestion of this hypothesis and some illustrative sentences and to Rebecca Bills for collecting the responses in Mercer County, West Virginia.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PATTERNS OF IRREGULAR VERB USAGE

The verb system of English as it has evolved currently has a single productive inflectional ending to signal pastness, both in the preterit and the past participle. This -ed suffix, with its three phonologically-conditioned variants, is attached to verbs like gain, step and nod giving the past forms gained, stepped and nodded. In addition, there are a number of verbs which typically undergo different processes in forming the preterit and past participle, the "irregular" verbs. This term is used for any verb which does not follow the productive pattern in both its preterit and past participle, such as keep (kept), think (thought) and grow (grew/grown). In most cases, such verbs are related to members of the seven strong classes of verbs in earlier varieties of English, although the patterns involved and the distribution among classes has changed considerably. These verbs constitute a more or less closed set, since new verbs which enter the language for the most part adopt the regular paradigm for tense marking. Thus, the tendency is for the inventory of irregular verbs to reduce in size, if any change occurs.

In some varieties of English, these irregular verbs have alternate past forms which differ from what is typically considered the standard. Both AE and OE samples examined here contain many examples of standard and nonstandard past irregular verbs. In fact, in each group, only one speaker showed no instances of nonstandard usage in irregular verbs. The others, as might be expected, exhibited a wide range in

amount of such usage. The type of nonstandard forms being considered are illustrated in (1) and (2):

1. PRETERIT	AE	OE
	a. I told her I done it. (1:14)	e. I don't think water done it. (29:26)
	b. We throwed them a birthday party. (36:3)	f. I throwed him out of there. (36:9)
	c. The state come by and they pushed it all out. (46:7)	g. Carol and them come up there and picked us up. (12:14)
	d. She give him a dose of castor oil. (153:5)	h. My uncle give it to me; it was a little Shetland pony. (9:17)
2. PAST PARTICIPLE		
	a. Her home had went, I guess, 50 yards or more from...(37:8)	e. Since I've went here all my life... (8:25)
	b. And they hadn't never saw a ghost before. (77:4)	f. Because I've never saw one. (12:19)
	c. If we had just took it off. (207:32)	g. John Henry had took three old stout boys. (1a:34)
	d. When I brung it back out, my rod was broke. (10:15)	h. Some of them weren't broke, and we'd have to break them. (34:10)

Language Change and the Irregular Verb System

The formation of verb past tenses in English has evolved from a more complex system of inflectional endings (including at one point, for example, a distinction between singular and plural in the preterit, which survives today only in the *was* as opposed to *were* forms of *to be*). It seems likely that changes in the system are still occurring. Evidence that such change is in progress can be found in the variability that exists in the use of certain of the irregular verbs, as well as in historical attestations of past changes in the system. This variability

is manifested by a fluctuation between what can be considered the current "standard" form and a socially stigmatized form of the type illustrated earlier. This standard form is sometimes difficult to identify, particularly when a change appears to be near completion and so there may be differences of opinion on whether a certain linguistic item is acceptable or not.

In the case of the past tense system for verb forms in English, the overall variability has existed since the earliest stages in the development of the language and continues presently. Where variation has been eliminated because of a completed change has been in individual verbs, and certain aspects of the patterns, rather than in the overall system. Verbs have ceased to be used as lexical items, a lexical change (as in the case of the Old English form niman, which meant 'to take' (Baugh 1957:119)); some strong verbs have taken on the inflectional pattern of another class (for example, break changed from a class where its past participle today would have been 'breken' to the class giving it the form broken (Baugh 1957:1981). These changes, of course, affect the overall system, but as yet no stage which clearly represents a resolution of the variability seems to have been reached.[1]

These samples of AE and OE both exhibit variability in the past forms of the irregular (with respect to present-day English) verbs. As noted above, however, this is by no means a recent innovation in the language. Old English had seven morphologically-defined classes of strong verbs which by the Middle English period had begun to break down. Pyles (1964:162) notes that in Middle English, many strong forms acquired regularized (i.e. dental-suffixed) counterparts and then disappeared, leaving the regularized form. He cites examples such as

helpen (infinitive), 'to help', which in Old English had the preterit singular healp, preterit plural hulpon and past participle holpen, in Middle English had halp, hulpen and holpen respectively, then became leveled beginning in the Middle English period to the present helped in all past forms. Other regularized counterparts were not adopted in standard speech, such as blowed for blew (Baugh 1957:197), although they occur in some varieties of English today. In addition, some of the fluctuations mentioned in connection with Early Modern English (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) are also found in current non-mainstream varieties of English. For example, certain participles occurred without their irregular -en ending, as in have bit or in a form identical to their preterit, as in have rode or have drove (Pyles 1964:196). These processes provide alternate forms for the participle in varieties today as well.

While change may be most obvious when looking at historical developments, geographical and/or social class variation may be indicative of change in progress since the period of fluctuation discussed sabove reveals itself in the 'structured heterogeneity' (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968) as correlated with such factors. With respect to irregular verbs, this variation has been attested in a number of studies of present-day American English. Linguistic Atlas surveys, discussed by Atwood (1953), show the use of a number of the nonstandard irregular preterits and past participles in areas of the Eastern United States, including but not limited to, the Appalachian area (preterit come, regularized growed, for example). In most cases, such usages were reported for the class of speakers described as 'poorly educated' (Atwood 1953:2), which points to the interaction of social class factors. In an

article based on a survey of dialects in England conducted within a similar class of speakers, Francis (1971) cites occurrences of the same types of verb form variants as Atwood noted, along with general geographical distribution, including the regularized growed and knowed and preterits come and seen. He suggests this might be evidence to support a connection between some American English forms and regional varieties of British English.

Other studies of varieties of English have touched on the irregular verb system, but for the most part there has been little detailed discussion. Characteristically, a few tentative generalizations are offered, often coupled with a listing of the verbs with irregular past forms that had nonstandard variants. In some cases, the generalizations offered are not drawn directly from the data presented. For example, Cratis Williams, whose articles on 'Mountain Speech' provide a large amount of secondary source-type data, comments that

> This habit of leveling a verb to one or two tense forms increases the facility of the verb and tends to enhance the rhythmical quality of the speech. (1962:15)

This is admittedly not representative of the discussions of this subject; however, it is presented as an indication of the range of comment that can be found.

Other treatments provide less subjective descriptive statements but, for a variety of reasons, do not provide much discussion of the problem. Feagin (1979) describes this type of usage as a strong class marker in White Alabama English, noting that all of her working class speakers showed some degree of nonstandardness in this area. A list of such verbs and their nonstandard forms is then presented, separated into

groups according to the process of derivation from the standard form (i.e. regularization, use of preterit form for the past participle, etc.). Hackenberg (1972) treats irregular verbs briefly in his consideration of a variety of Appalachian English. He also provides a list of the nonstandard forms observed with their frequencies and makes general descriptive statements about the trends that seem to be exemplified, noting, for instance, the tendency toward simplification by eliminating the distinction between preterit and past participle forms, as in the preterit seen (Hackenberg 1972:138). Another investigation of Appalachian verb usage, is reported by Miles (1980) who documents essentially the same types of verb forms as our earlier AE study found. Dumas (1971) describes a variety of OE from one of the counties included in our OE sample (Newton County), and she gives a number of irregular verbs, with their nonstandard past forms, indicating roughly how prevalent each is. She does not provide a full inventory, however, nor does she describe any patterns in the variation. In a comprehensive discussion of the features of Vernacular Black English, Labov et al (1968) include the nonstandard use of irregular verbs, but ultimately conclude:

> Although the category of past is well-established, the particular shape of the irregular past forms shows a wide range of variation. A tabulation of the many irregular variants which we have encountered is hardly enlightening, though eventually a careful study of these may show system where none appears at the moment.
>
> (Labov et al 1968:257)

Mention of these studies is made primarily to point out the widespread existence of this phenomenon and the need for a more indepth investigation, as well as to give an overview of the interrelationship of social and geographical factors.

The Extraction of the Data

For each speaker in both groups, a record was kept of the total number of past forms of irregular verbs produced during the course of the interview; the verb tokens were classified as standard or nonstandard and then separated into preterit and past participle functions. Auxiliaries and modals were excluded from the tally. Verbs for which the preferred standard form is not clearcut (such as dived/dove[2] and sneaked/snuck) were included, but all possibly standard variants were counted as standard. In general, the list of verbs included follows that of Hoard and Sloat (1971,1973), since their treatment seems to reflect the current informal standard of English usage.

In addition to the questionable areas of standardness with respect to form, there were other complicating factors. In order to be clear about which data were appropriate for the quantitative study, a careful distinction needed to be made between nonstandard usage of a verb as a lexical item or within a particular syntactic construction in contact with nonstandard realization in terms of form (the present topic). For example, the use of got or have got with a function like that of main verb have, as in I('ve) got three sisters may be a stigmatized usage (at least when the have is absent). However it does not represent a true past form of get in that context and so does not qualify as data for this investigation. Non-participle done (Chapter Four) is another case which may look like a past irregular verb but is not. For this reason, done in I done forgot is not counted, unlike the form in I done it which is an instance of an irregular verb.

Likewise, the process of auxiliary have deletion results in constructions whose verbs could be mistakenly tabulated. This occurs

fairly frequently in both AE and OE and results in constructions like:

3.a. First time I ever been out in the woods with a gun. (AE 10-11)

b. Well, I've just been lucky I never been bit. (AE 159-31)

c. Kerosene, that's supposed to been the cure for everything. (OE 39-11)

d. ...but I been bit twice by a copperhead. (OE 36:16)

The process of deletion occurs variably, even within the same sentence, as in the second example above, and is more frequent in some situations than in others.

Auxiliary have deletion is most common when the have combines with been, as in the utterances above. It is found with a few other verbs, however, in the sample, but much less often. These cases include:

4.a. That was the prettiest tree that ever he seen. (AE 157:18)

b. I seen several pictures in the paper where people been snake-bitten. (AE 37:29)

It is somewhat difficult to determine which of the utterances of this type are in fact cases of have deletion. The instances of contexts with verbs other than been where have deletion is posited largely depend on other types of indications within the sentence or from the surrounding context. As the examples of have deletion indicate, the constructions that result from this process look very similar to nonstandard irregular verb forms. Underlying this is the fact that the cases of have deletion that are most noticeable are precisely those involving irregular verbs since only with these verbs is it possible to distinguish between preterit and past participle. That is, in a sentence like First time I ever walked out in the woods, it would be impossible to determine if the past participle were intended, in order

to decide if have deletion were a possibility. Since the noticeable cases of have deletion resemble nonstandard forms of irregular verbs, they must be carefully separated out, since they result from a different process.

The Data Base

Since all but two speakers in the samples showed some incidence of nonstandard forms for irregular verbs, there were sufficient numbers of most verbs on which to base this investigation. For that purpose, verbs represented by fewer than five tokens (across all speakers) were arbitrarily excluded from the quantitative analyses, since it would be impossible to ascertain any generalizability of the pattern shown in them. Many verbs occurred significantly more than five times, with varying degrees of nonstandard variants from 100 percent nonstandard to 100 percent standard. To illustrate the size of the data base, Table 7.1 presents the most frequently occurring verbs (according to total number of occurrences) in each sample, with a preterit/past participle breakdown and the respective percentages of nonstandard variants used.

These figures illustrate certain characteristics of the entire data base. First, the incidence of preterit forms is much higher than past participles. Second, there seems to be no relationship between raw frequency and use of a nonstandard variant. We compare, for example, the verbs say and come; both are high frequency verbs, but say never shows a nonstandard variant, while come frequently does, at least in the preterit function. Finally, we can observe that the percentages of nonstandard variants for the preterit and past participle usage seem to be independent for verbs where the standard form differs (for example,

		Number of Tokens		% Nonstandard Variants	
	Verb	Total	Preterit	Participle	Preterit	Participle
AE:	have(MV)	1,529	1,447	82	0	0
	get	1,271	1,172	99	0	90.0
	go	1,262	1,059	135	0	54.8
	say	1,058	1,052	6	0	0
	come	652	618	34	69.9	2.9
	see	383	251	32	70.9	10.6
	take	373	349	24	24.4	50.0
	tell	345	313	32	0	0
	think	281	267	14	0	0
OE:	have(MV)	641	579	62	0	0
	go	439	405	34	0	67.6
	say	354	349	5	0	0
	come	290	274	19	72.3	15.8
	get	290	267	23	0	73.9
	do	169	124	45	53.2	4.4
	buy	136	128	8	0	0
	tell	132	121	11	0	0
	take	121	108	13	26.9	61.5

Table 7.1. Most Frequently Occurring Verbs with Irregular Past Forms

go). In verbs where the standard past forms are identical, the percentages seem to be fairly close. In Table 7.1, all such verbs show no nonstandard usage; however, some verbs do exhibit nonstandardness, and the frequency levels for preterit and participle tend to be similar, for example in the verb hear:

5. HEAR AE: preterit--20% past participle--27%

OE: preterit--31% past participle--22%

The dominant pattern, though, is indicated in Table 7.1; most cases of nonstandard verb forms occur for irregular verbs with two distinct past forms.

Nonstandard Usage of Irregular Verb Forms

In the AE sample as a whole, there were 106 different irregular verbs used in a past form; 55 of these had only standard realizations and the remaining 51 had one or more instances of nonstandard variants. In the OE group, the total number of verbs was 82; 46 had only standard forms and 36 showed some nonstandardness. We can characterize this nonstandard usage by considering how the alternate forms differ from the standard pattern. Grouping the individual verbs according to this procedure, we find that five basic categories emerge.

Regularization of preterit and/or participle forms occurs with a number of verbs. (Throughout this discussion, it should be remembered that individual speakers vary with respect to both the extent and kind of nonstandard realizations their speech exhibits.) By this process, a past tense is formed with the regular past suffix, in the appropriate phonological shape, as in (6):

6.a. David throwed him in the creek and jumped in after him. (AE 1:27)

b. I've heared tell of some. (AE 36:6)

c. Seem like everybody knowed where I was from. (OE 23:10)

d. She was already growed up. (OE 15:9)

For some verbs which have distinct preterit and past participle forms, one of the two may be extended to serve both functions. In this category, then, for example, the preterit went is also used for the participle as in (7a, c) and the participle done occurs in a preterit context, as in (8a, c):

7.a. One of the lights had went out. (AE 28:31)

b. This writing spider had wrote a date. (AE 35:39)

c. I had went down there off the boat. (OE 22:12)

d. He may have took the horse and wagon. (OE 39:21)

8.a. She didn't know who it was, who done it. (AE 10:3)

b. If you seen a woman's knee, you had done seen something. (AE 31:15)

c. The same fire that done your cooking... (OE 40a:42)

d. He seen something off this bluff. (OE 17:6)

In another category, the bare root form (equivalent to the non-third person present) becomes the past variant for some verbs like eat and give.

9.a. Best I can remember, they give us perigoric then. (AE 160:15)

b. So she eat the baby bear food and it was real good.(AE6:23)

c. Jobs begin to open up, they begin to leave out. (OE 41a:15)

d. Some of those cattle my dad give a hundred and fifty dollars for sold for five dollars a head. (OE 33:4)

There are some forms which fit more than one category, several of which have high levels of nonstandardness. For these verbs, the participle form is equivalent to what we call here the bare root form (verbs such as come and run). When this form is used in the preterit function, it is impossible to determine which of the last two categories described is the appropriate classification. Because later analysis will depend on category membership, and because these forms include several high frequency items, we will establish a separate class, called the "ambiguous" group. Examples of verbs in this category are:

10.a. I run into this barbed wire fence. (AE 207:5)

b. I come back and took care of him. (AE 214:18)

c. He come here during the Civil War. (OE 42:9)

d. It run wild with my grandpa's plowhorse. (OE 9:17)

Finally, there are a few instances of different strong forms being used, as in brung for brought (probably an analogy with patterns like sting/stung) and drug for dragged. This latter example is apparently one where a regular verb, drag, is given an irregular past form, an unusual situation.

11.a. He brung it up there. (AE 47:14)

b. They drug him out of there. (AE 44:21)

c. He finally retch in there. (AE 212:31)

d. Somebody brung something in. (OE 41a:19)

e. She was drug to death by the horse and wagon. (OE 10:21)

f. She just retch up on the fireboard. (OE 5:4)

Table 7.2 provides a listing of the full range of verbs which had nonstandard tokens in the sample, grouped by the categories just described. The number of occurrences of each verb is shown in parentheses. This table provides further indications of the similarity between these two varieties of English. We can see that all the more frequently occurring verbs in the OE group are also found in the AE list and that, overall, the range of verbs which are used nonstandardly by one group resembles quite closely the range found for the other.

In addition to the verbs in Table 7.2, there is another set of forms that seem to be nonstandard, but of a different sort. They are not irregular verbs in their standard forms, but they appear to have nonstandard variants where the standard voiced past ending /d/ is devoiced to /t/, as in (12):

Regularized Form	Preterit as Participle	Bare Root Form
knowed (51)	got (83)	give (55)
heared (37)	went (75)	eat (20)
borned (27)	bit (26)	begin (10)
seed (19)	broke (16)	hear (2)
throwed (14)	tore (13)	overeat (1)
blowed (12)	wore (8)	see (1)
growed (12)	saw (6)	sing (1)
drinked (6)	froze (7)	
drawed (5)	forgot (6)	**Different Strong Form**
bursted (2)	hid (6)	
runned (2)	wrote (6)	set (87)
shedded (2)	fell (5)	brung (10)
betted (1)	rode (3)	hearn (7)
eated (1)	beat (3)	retch(reached)(7)
gived (1)	woke (3)	drug (6)
lighted (1)	ate (2)	het (heated) (1)
spreaded (1)	did (2)	
stinged (1)	drove (2)	
	ran (2)	**Ambiguous Cases**
	stole (2)	
Participle as Preterit	came (1)	come (401)
	drank (1)	run (70)
seen (161)	flew (1)	become (4)
done (82)	forgave (1)	overcome (1)
taken (12)	gave (1)	
	grew (1)	
	redid (1)	
	shook (1)	
	spoke (1)	
	swam (1)	

Table 7.2a Categories of Nonstandard Irregular Verb Forms in AE

Regularized Form	Preterit as Participle	Bare Root Form
growed (24)	went (23)	give (30)
knowed (20)	got (20)	eat (20)
borned (18)	bit (18)	begin (9)
heared (13)	took (8)	sit (3)
throwed (7)	broke (6)	see (2)
blowed (5)	saw (6)	
drawed (3)	tore (5)	
costed (1)	ran (4)	Different Strong Form
creeped (1)	came (3)	
ringed (1)	wore (3)	set (10)
stoled (1)	did (2)	drug (7)
weared (1)	fell (2)	brung (3)
	beat (1)	retch (3)
	became (1)	rid (rode) (1)
Participle as Preterit	drove (1)	
	froze (1)	
done (65)	grew (1)	Ambiguous Cases
seen (42)	rode (1)	
known (3)	wrote (1)	come (189)
drunk (2)		run (38)
swum (2)		

Table 7.2b Categories of Nonstandard Irregular Verb Forms in OE

12.a. Every time I boilt water, I burnt it. (AE 36:23)

b. I got so sick to my stomach when I smelt them green beans. (AE 29:13)

c. ...and we fount some money. (AE 1:18)

Other verbs which undergo this devoicing process include: learnt, helt, ruint, spilt and spoilt. This appears to be an extension of the pattern which characterizes some verbs in their standard form, such as burn/burnt, and there may in fact be some question as to how nonstandard some of the particular verb forms mentioned above actually are.[2] Such forms occurred with some frequency in the AE sample, but they were not prominent at all among OE speakers (only learnt occurs). This process is mentioned here because it affects the past forms of verbs, including them in an irregular pattern, and because it appears to be an area of some difference between the varieties in question, albeit a minor one.

Another case that will be mentioned only briefly is the verb sit, with standard past form sat. By far the most frequent past variant for this verb is set, both in the preterit and past participle:

13.a. We set there one day for three hours straight. (AE 6:11)

b. He had set up there and cried. (AE 36:36)

c. Some of them set up until midnight. (OE 1a:29)

d. I've set there and heared them talking. (OE 29:34)

In addition, some instances of sit in other tenses were realized as set in both groups. This could mean that the verbs sit (sat) and set (set) are coalescing into one form, with set being adopted as the surface realization. Among the AE speakers, set was the only form used. Over 30 of the speakers in that group used set for the past tense of sit, and the others had no instances of that verb in the past. In the OE sample,

on the other hand, set varied both with the bare root form sit, as in (14), and to a lesser extent with the standard form sat.

14. We sit down to eat a bite and drunk us some beer. (OE 40a:36)

In terms of individual speakers in the group, five used set, one used sit and one used sat. Although this usage is classified as a type of "different strong form" in our chart in Table 7.2, it will not be included in any of the quantitative investigations, since it may represent a different process based on its possible relationship with the existing verb set.

Patterns of Variation in Irregular Verb Usage

We can now move to consider how we can examine the patterns of variation in the use of irregular verbs by the speakers in our sample and compare the usage of the two groups. It is clear that there is tremendous diversity which is not relatable to one process or rule. We cannot, for instance, compute the overall incidence of nonstandardness per speaker and relate that to the application of one rule rather than another. Hoard and Sloat (1971, 1973) have proposed a set of rules and processes to account for the various standard irregular verb forms of English. The numerous and intricate rules, however, do not prove illuminating as the foundation for describing the variation observed here. Without a well-developed rule basis to work from, the technique of variable rule analysis will not be very helpful. Simple tables of frequencies are not enough. We need to be able to describe variability across numbers of different verbs and individual and groups of speakers.

One method that may provide some insight is implicational analysis, a technique which can give a picture of the relationship among

individual items or groups of items. This model is discussed in some detail in Chapter Three. It will allow us to examine the variation across speakers as well as according to verb forms, which may be helpful as we compare the two varieties.

In order to investigate the nature of implicational relationships underlying irregular verb usage in AE and OE, we need a way to group the verbs. With the large number of verbs and speakers, an analysis based on individual items would be not only unwieldy but probably inconclusive. Despite the fact that the data base is fairly large (refer again to Table 7.1), such an analysis would have many instances where data are lacking, simply because each speaker did not use the full range of verbs. In addition, using such a method would presume that none of the verbs had anything in common with others that would play a role in how they were used. Even with just a cursory look at the data, this would not seem to be the case.

One view of the language data might come from classes into which the verbs fall in their standard uses. For example, it is clear that grow (grew/grown) and blow (blew/blown) should somehow be related more closely to each other than to begin (began/begun). However, no account of standard verb classes provides a satisfying basis for looking at the variation we observe. Hoard and Sloat (1971, 1973), devise a classification scheme based on underlying forms and rules to derive surface forms of irregular verbs, which, as mentioned previously, is quite complex in itself. Quirk and Greenbaum (1972) group the verbs according to the surface features of their past forms, and this grouping turns out to give little information for the present investigation. Most of the verbs which are used nonstandardly fall into just a few of the classes

they propose. Although individual verbs and the characteristics of their standard past forms seem to be related to the incidence of nonstandardness,[4] we will examine the variation in this sample from a slightly different perspective.

A line of investigation which proves fruitful is based on a classification of nonstandard variants as they differ from their standard counterpart. These categories were described earlier, and examples are given in (6) through (11) and in Table 7.2. We can examine the implicational relationships among these processes according to the speakers in the two groups. To do this, we will employ a three-valued format, with 0 representing no nonstandard (0% nonstandard), X for variable usage (1% to 99% nonstandard), and 1 for totally nonstandard (100% nonstandard).

To illustrate these assignments, we can consider a case where five tokens of a particular category are used. If all five reflected standard usage, a 0 would be assigned; if all were nonstandard forms, a 1 would be assigned. If any mixture of standard and nonstandard forms occurred within the five, an X would be assigned. This could be five tokens of a single verb, three of which were standard and two nonstandard, or it could be five different verbs which fall in the category, one of which was used standardly and four of which had nonstandard forms.

Using this classification scheme as the basis for analyzing the data, we find that the implicational array shown in (15) holds for the speakers in the AE sample:

15.

Different Strong Form 'drug'	⊃	Regularized Form 'knowed'	⊃	Bare Root Form 'eat'	⊃	Participle for Preterit 'done'	⊃	Preterit for Participle 'have went'	⊃	Ambig. Verbs 'come'

This relationship indicates that the categories most likely to be used are ambiguous verbs (e.g., come, run) and the preterit for the participle (e.g. had went, had broke) and the least likely category is the different strong verb form (e.g. brung, drug). And, if nonstandard forms of one type are realized, then nonstandard forms of all categories to the right of it should also be found. So, a speaker who says (16a) will most like also say (16b, c and d), but a speaker who uses (17a) will say (17b, c, and d).

15.a. She heared you, didn't she?

b. When we seen him,...

c. The children might have went up there.

d. ... and then they run away.

17.a. I ran away from school.

b. They have gone to the store.

c. I don't whether you saw it or not.

d. I heard the story last week.

The results for the OE sample, shown in (18) are slightly different:

18. Different Strong Form 'drug' ⊃ Regularized Form 'knowed' ⊃ Participle for Preterit 'done' ⊃ Preterit for Participle 'have went' ⊃ Bare Root Form 'eat' ⊃ Ambig. Verbs 'come'

It turns out that the bare root category is more frequently realized in OE than in AE, and occurs further to the left on the scale. Thus, an OE speaker who uses a form like have went (as in 16c) would be expected to say they run away (16d) but not the reverse.

The more detailed charts underlying these relationships are given in Tables 7.3 and 7.4 on the following pages. Deviations (cells which do not follow the expected pattern) are marked.

Speakers	Age/Sex	Diff. Strong	Regular-ized	Bare Root	Partic. for Pret.	Pret. for Partic.	Ambig.
70	13F	-	0	-	0	0	0
77	11F	-	0	-	0	(1)	0
211	77M	0	0	(X)	0	0	X
61;150;158	14F;13F;25M	0	0	0	0	X	X
75;87;148	10F;24M;13F	-	0	0	0	X	1
154	13F	-	0	0	X	X	(0)
149;155	18F;17M	0	0	0	X	X	X
74	11F	(X)	0	0	X	X	X
152	64F	0	0	X	(0)	X	X
4;7;29; 46;66;151	13M;17M;33F; 15M;17F;18F	0	0	X	X	X	X
51	10M	0	0	X	X	(1)	X
64	15F	0	0	X	X	X	1
37	45F	0	X	X	X	X	(0)
2;6;28; 31;35;40; 83;157;159 160;206;214	13M;14M;42F; 67M;22F;39F; 93F;52F;20M; 56F;50F;90M	0	X	X	X	X	X
1;32;203; 205	15M;54M;45F; 81F	0	X	-	X	X	1
36	27F	0	X	1	1	1	1
44	14M	X	(0)	X	X	X	X
17;65;156; 164	16M;15F;20F; 33M	X	X	X	X	X	X
153;207;215	83F;48M;91M	X	X	X	X	X	1
85;124	78F;11M	X	X	X	X	1	1
10	14M	X	X	1	(X)	1	(X)
22;30	60M;50M	X	X	1	1	(X)	1
146	52M	-	X	1	1	1	(X)
212	90M	X	X	1	1	-	1

Table 7.3 Implicational Relationships by Type of Nonstandard Form: Appalachian English Sample.

Speakers	Age/Sex	Diff. Strong	Regular-ized	Partic. for Pret.	Pret. for Partic.	Bare Root	Ambig.
43	34F	–	0	0	0	–	0
11;35b	12M;35F	0	0	(X)	0	0	0
39	36F	–	0	0	(X)	0	0
30	70F	–	0	0	0	0	X
10	17M	(X)	(X)	0	0	0	X
16;42	14M;30F	0	0	0	X	X	X
15	16F	0	(X)	0	X	–	X
34	34F	0	0	X	X	(0)	(0)
9;12;13;38	14F;12F;15F;25F	–	0	X	X	X	X
8;19	17M;13F	0	0	X	X	X	1
33	55M	0	0	X	X	1	1
35a	36M	–	X	X	(0)	–	(0)
1a;23;27	77M;32M;28F	0	X	X	X	X	X
22;28;46	25M;71F;22M	0	X	X	X	–	1
32b	78F	0	X	X	X	1	1
25	59M	0	X	X	1	1	1
1b	91F	X	X	X	X	X	X
17;26;36;41b	15M;55F;48M;59F	X	X	X	X	X	1
29;32a	69M;92M	–	X	X	X	1	1
41a	62M	X	(1)	X	X	1	1
5;40a	77M;80M	X	1	1	(X)	1	1
40b	84F	–	1	1	–	1	1

Table 7.4 Implicational Relationships by Type of Nonstandard Form: Ozark English Sample

Some observations can be made based on the patterns which emerge. First, we should comment on the "Ambiguous Verbs" category. As mentioned before, this term is used because the members of the group, verbs like come, run, become and so on, show no overt difference between their bare root form and their participial form. In classifying an instance like He come yesterday, it is impossible to choose between the two categories ("Bare Root Form" and "Participle for Preterit"). The ordering of implicational relationships may shed some light on this matter. In AE, the ambiguous category is separated from both alternative classifications. It seems that the members of this group have exceeded the nonstandard behavior of either of their other possible classifications. In OE, on the other hand, the bare root category is ordered directly next to the ambiguous verbs. We may hypothesize that for the OE speakers, the ambiguous verbs are, in fact, realizations of the bare root category, so that come and run result from the same process as give and eat. Such a conclusion is not warranted for AE.

In terms of degree of usage, it would appear that in both communities, use of one of the ambiguous verbs would be more acceptable than the other types of nonstandard forms. The preterit for participle usage (have got or have went) is also relatively more acceptable. These variants are perhaps less stigmatized, if we assume that the more speakers who use the form, the more acceptable it must be (not an entirely satisfactory assumption). On the other hand, in both communities, regularized forms (like growed) and different strong forms (brung or retch) are in less common use, and hence may be less acceptable. Looking at this from a slightly different perspective, it may be that reducing the number of forms for a given verb to two, with preterit

and participle either identical or with one corresponding to the base form, may be more acceptable than completely regularizing the forms (i.e., the verb come, with preterit come and past participle have come and the verb go, with preterit went and past participle have went are preferred to the modification in the verb grow, with preterit growed and past participle have growed). Shifting the irregular verbs closer to the regular paradigm, then, may have two stages, with total regularization the second and more drastic one.

Looking more closely at the details of the charts in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, we can add further to the discussion. First, we should mention that although there are deviations, the implicational scales strongly support the existence of an implicational relationship among the verb categories. This is measured by calculating a scaleability rating, which indicates how closely the chart corresponds to the ideal scale (one with no deviations). Normally, an acceptable rating is 85% to 90% or above. The calculation involves determining the percentage of cells without deviations out of the total number of filled cells (each verb category which has a value for each speaker counts as one filled cell). Using this method, we find that Table 7.3 has 13 deviations in 319 filled cells, giving a scaleability of 95.0%. (Note that the chart is actually a collapsed version of one with more rows, since each speaker defines a row; thus, in the third row from the bottom, the marked deviation covers two speakers (22, 30), so it counts as two deviations.) Table 7.4, representing the Ozark sample, shows 13 deviations in 204 filled cells, so its rating is 93.6%.

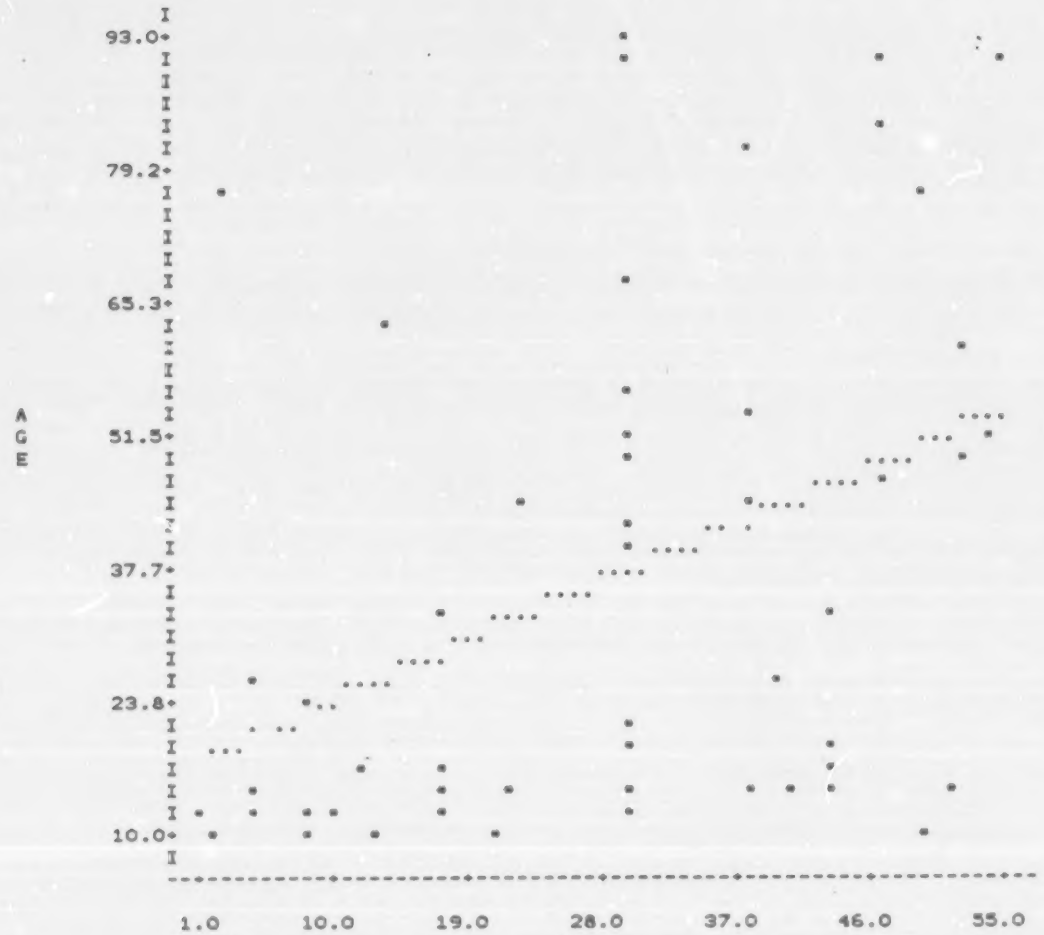
The pattern revealed by the charts is further supported by its correspondence with the frequency data for nonstandard irregular verb

forms. That is, those verbs in categories further to the right tended to have a higher overall incidence of nonstandardness and greater numbers of speakers who used the nonstandard form. For example, in Table 7.4, for the Ozark sample, we can compare members of several of the verb categories. Come, the most frequent of the ambiguous verbs to occur, had an overall incidence of 77%; of the 33 speakers who used the verb at all, 28 used the nonstandard form at least some of the time. From the regularized form category, on the other hand, the most frequently occurring member was know. Knowed had a frequency level of 28%, and 9 out of 21 speakers used the nonstandard form. This is not a surprising result, but it provides further confirmation of the soundness of the pattern.

These charts also prove useful in comparing the two varieties in question. They show that the two samples behaved quite similarly with respect to their irregular verb usage. We do find that the position of the bare root category in the implicational ordering differs, but this is most likely tied in with the interpretation of the ambiguous verbs discussed above. Apart from the position of the bare root forms, the arrangements on the two scales are identical. There appear to be other factors influencing the pattern, in particular the individual lexical items involved. There seem to be key members of each category, such as come for ambiguous verbs, got for preterit for participle, and so on, that may determine the pattern to a large extent. Further examination by individual verbs may be called for. In any event, there do seem to be some minor differences between the varieties that show up in the charts, but overall there is striking similarity. Further, we can see that in both groups, the speakers cluster at comparable points on the

scale. There are relatively few speakers at the top of the scale, toward the more standard usage end. They begin to cluster (going down the scale) with variable usage in the four columns to the right, and again with variable usage in all but the leftmost column, and then their distribution evens out again toward the bottom of the scale. For both groups, there tend to be fewer speakers at the extremes of the chart, and a greater concentration in the middle section. We can also note the predominance of X, indicating variable usage; there is relatively little categorical nonstandard use in any of the categories.

Finally, we need to examine the social factors of age and sex for the speakers in the two charts. This will not only provide a point for comparison of the two varieties, but it will also provide evidence in our examination of the possibility of language change being in progress. As we might expect, the pattern of age/sex distribution is far from uniform or regular. In both tables, however, there appears to be a tendency for the higher rows (the more standard) to have younger and female speakers, and for the lower (the more nonstandard) to have older and male speakers. If we look specifically at, for example, the first 12 rows of Table 7.3 (the AE sample), we can see that of the 22 speakers included, 14 are female and 20 are under the age of 35. Among the 10 speakers in the bottom six rows, 8 are male and 8 are over the age of 35. A similar tendency can be observed for the OE sample in Table 7.4. If we subject these orderings to a correlational analysis, we obtain the results displayed in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 on the following pages. These figures show the relationship between age and relative position on the implicational scale for each individual in the AE and OE samples. Judging by the resulting correlation coefficient in each case, we note a



Mean of X = 28.00	Correlation coefficient = 0.41	Valid cases = 55
S.D. of X = 15.77	Degrees of freedom = 53	Missing cases = 0
Mean of Y = 35.65	Slope of regression line = 0.68	Response % = 100
S.D. of Y = 26.07	Y intercept = 16.65	

Figure 7.1 Correlation of Age with Rank in Implicational Scale for AE Speakers

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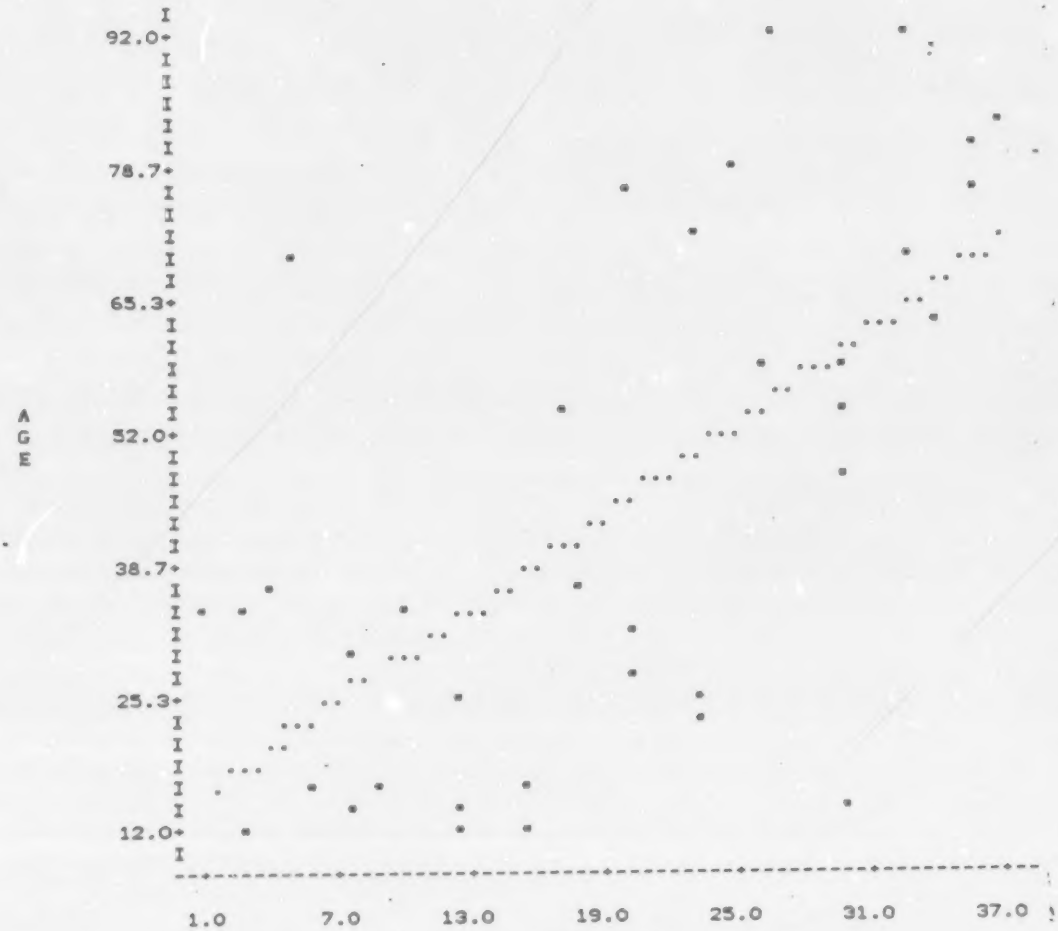

Mean of X = 19.00	Correlation coefficient = 0.64	Valid cases = 37
S.D. of X = 10.66	Degrees of freedom = 35	Missing cases = 0
Mean of Y = 43.49	Slope of regression line = 1.55	Response % = 100
S.D. of Y = 25.86	Y intercept = 14.08	

Figure 7.2 Correlation of Age with Rank in Implicational Scale for OE Speakers

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slight to moderate correlation between age and degree of nonstandard irregular verb usage (relative to other members of the same group), with a stronger relationship evident for OE than for AE. This is clearly not evidence of a perfect correspondence between the age/sex factors and nonstandard usage. However, we can identify a pattern that conforms in a loose way to the data observed, and we would expect a number of other factors to intervene in any case (social characteristics such as general education levels in the family which were not controlled for).

Summary and Discussion of Findings

The body of this chapter has examined the relatedness of the AE and OE samples on the characteristic of irregular verb usage and has considered the patterns of variation using implicational analysis. We have noted that both AE and OE differ from mainstream varieties in the forms of irregular verbs they allow. These differences can be captured in a system of six categories: (1) different strong forms (drug for dragged); (2) regularization (knowed for knew); (3) participle for preterit (seen for saw); (4) preterit for participle (have went for have gone); (5) bare root forms (give for gave); and (6) ambiguous cases (come for came), where the form could represent either of the categories (4) or (5). These categories provide a useful framework within which to describe the nonstandard usage and to determine the patterns underlying the variation observed.

On both counts, we have found a close resemblance between AE and OE. Descriptively, both varieties exhibit nonstandard usage to some degree in all categories. For the most part, verbs with two different forms in their preterit and participle functions (go/went/gone, for example) are

subject to alternate (nonstandard) realizations. Most of those with only a single form (e.g. find/found) are not. Applying the implicational analysis model to the results of the data tabulation for individual speakers uncovered the systematic nature of the variation in the sample. A series of implicational relationships was determined to hold among the six categories, with the ambiguous cases having the greatest degree of nonstandardness and different strong forms the least in both varieties. The ordering of the categories, with one exception, was the same for both AE and OE. The exception was the behavior with bare root forms--OE speakers tended to have a greater degree of nonstandard usage with members of that category than AE speakers did. Finally, the implicational analysis provided the basis for observing a tendency toward age differentiation in both varieties, with younger speakers using less, and older speakers using more nonstandard past irregular verb forms.

These results are worthy of discussion on several fronts. First, although this case did not turn up any marked differences between the varieties, the usefulness of implicational analysis for the systematic comparison of varieties should be clear. In this particular case, what emerges is evidence for the similarity of the two communities with respect to the particular feature of irregular verb forms. Happily, this is not a surprising result, and it gives documentation to support, at least in a small way, the anecdotal observations about the relatedness of the two varieties that have been made.

One can imagine, though, a number of ways in which differences could be reflected using this model. Most extremely, a set of implicational relationships that holds for one group of speakers might prove to be totally inappropriate for another (such that no scaling at any adequate

level is possible). On the vertical dimension, columns might significantly reorder, showing that the features involved in the relationship are appropriate but they are not patterned in the same way. On the horizontal level, the speakers of the two varieties might cluster at different sections of the scale. For example, if the AE had all fit the patterns involving predominantly 0s with some Xs (the top section of our charts), while the OE speakers had fallen on the levels with mostly Xs and 1s, this would have indicated a reportable difference between the two. Such a result could mean that the pattern was shared but that the incidence of production of nonstandard forms within that pattern differs widely.

A further extension of this model can be suggested as a way to mark a number of varieties along a continuum. Briefly, this line of comparison would take the following form. Suppose we had a variety of Standard English, and perhaps one or more other non-mainstream varieties for which we had analyzed behavior on some linguistic dimension. These varieties might then be describable on an implicational array, such that varieties would line up in the way that speakers form the horizontal factor in the charts presented here. Of course, there would probably be a need to allow for a degree of abstraction to make the patterns of variation a bit neater. The linguistic feature in question would define the columns, conforming to usual practice. In fact, if we could imagine a three dimensional array, implicational displays of patterns themselves could be arranged on a scale.

Another area that deserves further discussion is the issue of language change with respect to irregular verbs in these two varieties. We know that change occurs within the context of a period of variation

such as this one; simply put, speakers begin using an alternate form, two forms coexist for awhile, then the old form moves into obsolescence. (Of course, the old form can also prevail, with certain other factors in the situation favorable to its survival--then we can find a period of variation which does not result in change, but resolves itself in the direction of the previous state.) In other words, change comes only with variability, but variation does not necessarily mean that change will occur.

Implicational scaling has been used in descriptions of change in progress, with supplementary evidence supporting the notion that change is occurring. According to the charts in Tables 7.3 and 7.4, it could be claimed that change is occurring from bottom to top; that is, that greater nonstandard irregular verb use is giving way to past irregulars conforming to the standard pattern. Alternatively, the opposite might also be proposed, that change is moving in the direction from top to bottom. Then the change would be progressing toward the "new" (i.e., nonstandard currently) forms. In the search for evidence to support one or another directionality, the first place to look is history. As mentioned earlier, the English language has over the centuries considerably reduced the number of distinctions reflected in the verb form, as well as the inventory of irregular verbs. In some cases, verbs as lexical items have simply gone out of use, a lexical change (niman 'to take'). Others have changed inflectional classes which resulted in fewer distinct forms in the paradigm. Finally, still others simply became regularized to the productive pattern (help is a good example). In addition, a simpler overall paradigm could be seen as being less marked, a natural direction for change (Bailey 1973).

However, there is also evidence of fluctuation between standard and nonstandard variants (such as blew/blowed, have ridden/rode, have broken/broke) occurring in much earlier periods and continuing down through today. This would seem to indicate that stable variation is a possibility (Fasold 1973).

Finally, the age/sex pattern tendency that was noted in the implicational charts suggests the opposite directionality. If we interpret this as reflecting apparent time (Labov 1972a; Wolfram and Fasold 1974), the younger groups would be seen as exhibiting more advanced behavior on the variable in flux; here, it would be toward more standard use of irregular verbs. Our statistical analyses indicated a stronger relationship in this area for OE than for AE. Another possible explanation, however, is that differences between age groups reflect different stages of a speaker's development and that usage of nonstandard forms actually increases with age, given other appropriate conditions. There seems to be some evidence for this emerging in the samples under consideration for some features.

It is, of course, impossible to predict what form a resolution will take. Even if change is progressing in the direction of currently nonstandard forms, increased exposure to mainstream varieties and the education process could be the vehicles for significant social pressure toward using standard forms and inhibit the change. Based on a number of observations about irregular verb usage in a variety of situations (Wolfram and Christian 1975; Christian 1978; Wolfram, Christian, Leap and Potter 1979), we can offer one speculation as to a possible direction of change. As mentioned earlier, there appears to be a fairly strong tendency to reduce the number of form distinctions for a given

irregular verb to two. In most cases, this involves leveling the preterit and past participle forms, but in some (the bare root forms and ambiguous cases), other correspondences may exist. Some of the most frequently occurring verbs of this type include: do (preterit done, participle done); go (preterit went, participle went); see (preterit seen, participle seen); get (preterit got, participle got). In many of the other cases, a single (non-regularized) form results: come (preterit come, participle come); give (preterit give, participle give). In fact, the large majority of the irregular verbs which participate in nonstandard usage are those with two distinct past forms. There also appears to be a relationship between this factor and a greater acceptability of some forms. The participle got, for example, is the standard form in British English dialects; gotten is an American standard (Pyles 1964:200). Further, there are indications that some of the leveled participle forms are more acceptable than other nonstandard irregular verb forms. (We can compare, for example, the acceptability of the chair's broke, they have beat us vs. I seen him, they knowed it).

In addition, as we saw earlier, some irregular verbs show no incidence of nonstandard variants (such as teach/taught, find/found and tell/told), and these verbs for the most part have only a single past form. A combination of facts suggests that the reduction in the number of distinct forms for irregular verbs may be the first plateau of change in the system. This may be the immediate goal in a change away from the current standard, and complete regularization of the paradigm may not be much of a force at all in the variation being observed. This remains, however, a highly speculative observation.

In summary, then, the relatedness of AE and OE on the parameter of irregular verb usage has been examined utilizing the implicational scaling model. In so doing, documentation has been provided of the high degree of similarity between the two varieties of English. The view has also been advanced that competing forces are affecting a potential language change in progress in this area of the morphology of English. While we cannot predict the ultimate resolution, we can provide a careful account of the current state of affairs that may serve as the basis for longitudinal comparisons at a later date.

Notes to Chapter Seven

[1]Presumably, such a stage would have one productive inflectional past ending, common to both preterit and past participles, with no irregularities, given the tendency of natural language to move toward a system that is in some way simpler (from "marked" to "unmarked", according to Bailey (1973)). However, it is not possible to predict that this would be the exact shape a resolution would take since concomitant changes in other aspects of the language as well as social factors can affect the direction of a change.

[2]Miller (1984) discusses the widely varying opinions on preferred usage with respect to past forms of *dive*, especially among dictionaries.

[3]A larger inventory of verbs have devoiced past endings in British dialects than in American, including, for example, *learnt* and *dwelt*. The devoicing in AE may well represent a vestigial feature retained from the British ancestry in the area. If so, the feature has apparently not survived in OE.

[4]There is no question that some relationship exists between nonstandard use and standard form. We can observe, for instance, that verbs *know*, *grow*, *throw* tend to be regularized when they are used nonstandardly; *tear*, *wear*, *break*, on the other hand, tend to have preterit forms for their past participle. There are many connections like this. We have elsehwere considered these relationships and looked at the standard/nonstandard variation from the perspective of verb classes based on the standard paradigm (Christian 1978).

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUBJECT-VERB CONCORD

Introduction

Many languages require that verbs in sentences carry some kind of marking to agree in various respects with the subject noun phrase of the verb. This type of marking, which will be referred to here as 'agreement' or 'concord', can involve a fairly extensive set of inflections that reflects the person and/or number characteristics of the subject. In present-day English, this process in relatively limited, but it has evolved from an agreement system which, in earlier stages of the language, was much more extensive.

The nature of patterns of marking this concord relationship is another area which shows variability across and within varieties of English. Many non-mainstream varieties show alternate paradigms that contrast, to a greater or lesser extent, with the standard one. The patterns of agreement marking in these samples of Appalachian and Ozark speech exhibit one direction in which agreement paradigms may differ. There also is a considerable range in the extent of non-standard usage by individual speakers in both groups. Some examples of nonstandard concord marking that occur in our corpus include:

AE

1.a. Your clothes gets cleaner. (36:25)

b. Times has changed. (150:15)

c. The horns is supposed to be three inches long.

d. I don't think people's hard on their children. (205:13)

e. There was too many things that was different. (158:16)

f. We's gonna try to bring it back alive. (31:27)

g. I heared people that has been hunters ... (30:31)

OE

2.a. Our grange members goes and helps do that free. (26:4)

b. Him and his son has the same name. (35b:11)

c. The girls is usually the ones who picks them. (38:10)

d. There's three townships up here that's real sparsely populated. (23:10)

e. We always felt like we wasn't going no place. (42::4)

f. A lot of old people I knew has died. (22:13)

As we proceeded in the examination of irregular verbs in the previous chapter (Chapter Seven), we will investigate the variability in concord marking by comparing the behavior the behavior of the speakers in the two varieties of English, looking at the implicational relationships that may emerge from the data samples, and considering the possible relationship to language change in progress. The nature of usage patterns with the nonstandard forms, coupled with historical evidence on previous developments in concord marking, point to the possibility that the variation observed is part of such a change.

As mentioned above, many non-mainstream varieties of English have concord paradigms that differ from the standard one. Atwood (1953:28-30) describes the usage of certain forms that were attested in the Linguistic Atlas studies in the eastern part of the United States. Based on agreement marking observed with particular lexical items, he cites evidence for many of the same nonstandard agreement constructions found in this study. These include nonstandard forms of concord for the

verb be in construction with pronouns you and we (as in you was or we's for we was/we is), with expletive there (as in there was + plural noun phrase) and with plural noun subjects (as in the horns is (lc) example cited above). Certain combinations of main verbs with plural subjects were also cited as instances of nonstandard agreement marking. For the most part, the nonstandard forms of concord reported by Atwood were common only with the less educated speakers (according to the Linguistic Atlas definitions of classes of speakers). Certain regional differences were also noted, with speakers from the more southern states typically showing a greater degree of nonstandard concord, although the usage is in no way restricted to a particular geographical area.

Wolfram and Fasold (1974:153-158) discuss various concord relationships that do not match the standard paradigm precisely. They particularly treat the similarities and differences between Vernacular Black English and the variety of Appalachian English described by Hackenberg (1972). Feagin (1979) describes the nonstandard forms of concord in White Alabama English. Dumas (1971) mentions some of the nonstandard agreement marking processes observed in a variety of Ozark English. The Feagin, Hackenberg and Dumas accounts will be dealt with in detail in a later section since the varieties they describe have much in common with those under consideration reprsented here. In general, the sources cited here observe nonstandard concord among speakers typically characterized as lower socioeconomic class. These sources are mentioned primarily to attest to the widespread use of alternate concord patterns in non-mainstream varieties (socially and/or geographically defined.)

The Corpus

The following discussion of concord in Appalachian and Ozark speech is based on the sample of ninety-two speakers that has been described earlier in Chapter One. For each speaker, the data were extracted from the taped interview by simply noting whether agreement took the standard form or not, with the instances allocated into certain categories. Since, with one exception, no instances of nonstandard concord with grammatically singular subjects were observed during preliminary examinations of the data, these were not included in the tabulation. The one exception to this pattern was the use of don't where the standard form is doesn't. All occurrences of concord involving plural subjects in the present tense were tabulated, differentiating among be, have, and other verbs. In addition, agreement with be in the past tense was recorded since the standard forms of this verb are marked for agreement, unlike the past tenses of other verbs. In the case of be, a distinction was also made between contracted and non-contracted forms of the verb, since in preliminary reviews of the data, it was noted that was often occurred in contracted form with plural subjects. The process of contraction was thought to be a possible influence on agreement.

In order to minimize the chances of obscuring constraints on variability, different types of subjects were also tabulated separately for each of the verb types mentioned above. For the grammatically plural pronouns you, we, and they, a simple count of standard and nonstandard occurrences was made. For other plural noun phrase subjects, a notation of the specific subject and verb form was made in addition to the tabulation. For counting purposes, four types of surface subjects were identified: expletive there, conjoined noun

phrase, collective noun phrase, and other plural noun phrase. In addition, any cases of nonstandard agreement which did not fit into this grid were noted. The complete citations were made for the non-pronominal cases so that any unanticipated influences would not be missed.

One further distinction was made in terms of whether or not the subject and verb in the concord relationship were in some way syntactically separated, in order to determine whether this factor might have some systematic influence on the incidence of nonstandard concord. This situation occurs when a clause intervenes between the subject and the verb, such as a relative clause modifying the subject, or when the verb is a member of a different clause in surface structure than its agreement-governing subject. The following excerpts from the data illustrate this category:

AE

3.a. All the grandchildren that comes in knows where the cookie jar is at. (80:10)

b. I feel sorry for people that's just bringing just bringing children up now. (83:4)

c. Of course, your halfbacks are not the only ones that goes out. (146:2)

OE

4.a. We have three or four girls that's cheering for us. (13:23)

b. A lot of old people I knew has died. (22:13)

c. ...just the spokes that goes in the wheel. (1b:4)

Although this type of separation appeared to have some favoring effect on the incidence of nonstandard concord, there were not enough cases on

which to base any significant kind of generalization. Examples from this category were subsequently excluded from the tabulations of other categories rather than combining them with their counterparts in the non-separated subject-verb pairs.

Figure 8.1 that follows presents the data sheet on which the tabulations were recorded. One sheet was filled out while each taped interview was reviewed. In addition, full citations of exemplary instances and any unexpected or unusual cases were recorded and attached to the data sheet. Whenever a question arose as to how a form should be counted, the example was omitted from tabulation. In some cases, this involved some uncertainty as to the standard form of agreement, as in the concord relationships discussed by Morgan (1972) (treated in the next section). Other instances included what might be false starts or hesitations, where it could not be clearly established that the subject and verb were actually involved in a concord relationship. Finally, instances of copula absence could not be included because they show no overt agreement marking.

Standard Forms of Concord Marking in English

The present-day standard concord relationship in English has evolved from a much more extensive agreement system found in earlier stages of the language. In both Old and Middle English, the verbal agreement inflections for the present tense required distinctions for both person and number of the subject. For singular subjects, first, second, and third person forms were differentiated, while the plural subjects were simply contrasted with the singular ones, but undifferentiated as to person (Robertson and Cassidy 1954:141). This more extensive set of

CONCORD

Speaker # _____

SUBJECT	BE				NON-BE	
	Present		Past		Have	Main Verb
Non-sep.	Con.	Full	Con.	Full		
Pronoun: you						
we						
they						
Collective NP						
Conjoined NP						
Other Plural NP						
Separated: Pronoun						
Collective NP						
Conjoined NP						
Other Plural NP						
There						
don't: NP Subject:					Pronoun Subject:	

Figure 8.1. Data Sheet Model for Agreement Marking Tabulations

distinctions eventually developed into the present system which distinguishes only the third person singular agreement from all other persons and numbers (except for the case of be which is discussed below). In the standard paradigm, concord with third person singular subjects is represented by the -s inflectional suffix; all other present tense forms are identical to the basic word stem (bare root form) of the verb. This development is displayed in Table 8.1.

	Old English		Middle English		Modern English	
	sg.	plural	sg.	plur.	sg.	plur.
1st person	-e	-a	-e	-e(n)	-	-
2nd person	-est	-a	-est	-e(n)	-	-
3rd person	-e	-a	-eth	-e(n)	-s	-

Table 8.1 Development of Subject-Verb Concord Inflections in English (from Robertson and Cassidy 1954:141)

In the past tense, no distinctions are made for person or number of the subject noun phrase, again excepting be. The changes that resulted in the present-day system were themselves the products of a period of variation. For example, as Baugh (1957:229) notes, dialects of Middle English differed in their treatment of the third person plural, present tense verb marking:

> In Old English this form always ended in -th with some variation of the preceding vowel. In Middle English this ending was preserved as -eth in the Southern dialect. In the Midland district, however, it was replaced by -en, ...while in the north it was altered to -es ... Thus we have loves in the north, loven in the Midlands, and loveth in the south.

This historical perspective shows that the system of concord marking on verbs in English has undergone considerable fluctuation in its evolution

from the more complex set of inflections to the simpler set of standard forms in current usage.

As indicated above, be departs somewhat from the paradigm described by maintaining some of the other inflectional distinctions. The first and third person singular present forms (am and is) contrast with the form used for second person singular and all plurals (are). The be paradigm also differs in that the agreement is not indicated by the simple addition of a suffix to a base form, but rather totally distinct forms are involved. Number agreement is retained to some degree in the past tense as well, where first and third singular subjects occurs with was and the other subjects take were. In both tenses, the singular/plural distinction in the second person is no longer observed, and the plural verb form has been adopted. (This coalescence in second person is also reflected in the pronominal form itself, where both singular and plural are represented by you, in contrast with, for example, the first person, with singular I and plural we.)

It should be noted here that the terms 'singular' and 'plural' refer to grammatical concepts, not necessarily semantic ones and that the paradigm described above is not without exception. As in the case of the pronoun you, a subject's semantic and grammatical number assignments need not match, although in most cases they do. Morgan (1972) discusses some instances where the standard form of agreement for a semantically plural subject may involve a singular agreement marking on the verb. He mentions these cases within a more general treatment of the problems of specifying how subject-verb agreement works in English which will not be detailed here. His observations will instead be used to specify further the base of the true informal standard paradigm for concord in English.

They may also give some indication of areas where processes similar to those operating in Appalachian and Ozark speech for concord appear to have been adopted as standard.

Morgan suggests several areas where specification of agreement marking does not appear straightforward. For instance, when a complex noun phrase is the subject, such as lots of + noun or more than + number + noun, the right constituent must be selected for the verb to agree with. Thus, we get agreement marking as in lots of people are, but lots of rice is, and more than one linguist is, but more than two linguists are (Morgan 1972:279). There are also cases where conjoined subjects, which typically have plural agreement as their standard form, can instead allow a singular verb form. This can happen when the elements of the conjoined subject are interpreted as a combination rather than separately, as illustrated by the difference between Pickles and ice cream are good and Pickles and ice cream is good. For many speakers, it appears that this may happen as well when there-insertion applies with a conjoined subject, where the verb agrees with the closest conjunct rather than the whole subject. This gives agreement marking like There was a cat and three dogs, but There were three dogs and a cat (Morgan 1972:280-281). Morgan gives a number of other cases where standard agreement is difficult to account for and points out that, in the more complex cases, there is variation among speakers in their judgments about agreement. While there are certainly some important implications of Morgan's observations for linguistic theory, they are mentioned here as indications of the difficulty of formalizing the standard paradigm of agreement and to point out the existence of variation in mainstream speakers' intuitions about what some standard forms should be. In some

cases, the apparent divergences from the paradigm seem to be due to non-syntactic factors (i.e. conjoined subjects interpreted as combinations) while others seem related to syntactic or surface structure characteristics (i.e. _there_-insertion with a conjoined subject).

Attempts at formalization of rules for subject-verb agreement have been made, but even the more straightforward cases (i.e. those which follow the paradigm outlined above) are difficult to handle adequately. Because of problems that arise in accounting for the standard paradigm, these rules will not be detailed as such in treating the data from Ozark and Appalachian English. However, a brief outline of one approach will be given to show how an analysis of standard forms might operate. This brief presentation will also serve as background for a later discussion of a treatment of nonstandard concord that utilizes rules.

Akmajian and Heny (1975:197-201), working within a transformational generative grammar framework, consider the basic mechanism involved in agreement to be the transfer of the person and number features from the subject noun phrase to the auxiliary in a sentence. Several rules are proposed to accomplish agreement marking. The first, "Number Agreement," transfers the features from subject to auxiliary. If an auxiliary segment or copula is realized in the surface structure, this transfer determines the agreement marking, giving, for example, _it has_, _they are_, _he does_. If no auxiliary will be realized, another rule, "Affix Hopping" moves these features, along with tense, from the auxiliary slot to the verb. "Spell-out Rules", then, provide the appropriate form for the verb corresponding to the features indicated, i.e., _starts_ if the verb _start_ has the features for third person, singular and present tense attached to it, _is_ if the verb _be_ has those

features, and so on. This basic mechanism, the transfer of features from subject to verb, is at the core of a number of accounts of agreement marking that have been advanced, of which the Akmajian and Heny approach is representative.

While such analyses may provide the basic mechanism for specifying agreement relationships, the problem of determining the specific relationship in certain instances still remains. As Morgan's (1972) observations indicate, there are a number of cases where the number feature of a subject is not simply that of the head noun, so that the transfer of features would not be the straightforward process it might appear to be. The situation is further complicated by the variation that exists in judgments as to standard forms as well as those between varieties in the application of agreement marking. The variation in the Ozark and Appalachian speech samples provides an interesting case in point.

Concord Marking in Appalachian and Ozark Speech

Although subject-verb concord in Appalachian and Ozark speech follows much the same paradigm as the standard one discussed earlier, there are certain areas in which they differ. It should be remembered, though, that these areas of difference are not categorical. Instead, they represent areas where the varieties allow alternate forms of agreement and variation occurs between the two (standard and nonstandard) forms.

Some preliminary comments concerning the comparison of AE and OE are appropriate here. Qualitatively, agreement marking in the two varieties operates in much the same way. That is, the type and range of contexts for variability between standard and nonstandard forms are quite

similar. Thus our general description of overall concord marking behavior will not need to differentiate between AE and OE since the same observations apply to both. It turns out that the cases where the agreement patterns differs from the standard paradigm involve almost exclusively singular verb forms paired with grammatically plural subjects. Thus, we will begin our description with that part of the agreement paradigm, and we will return later to consider the pattern with singular subjects which is almost entirely standard.

Our first approach to the data involves searching out the influences on the extent of nonstandard agreement marking. As we saw in the previous section, the data extraction techniques made certain assumptions about the directions of these influences but they allowed for sufficient detail on indivudal cases to enable us to examine a wide variety of possibilities.

The type of verb involved appears to be a major factor in detemining differences in the concord pattern. For verbs other than be, no subject-verb concord marking occurs except in the present tense, according to the standard forms of agreement. For be, however, both present and past tenses can show concord, with be retaining more of the older distinctions of person and number than other verbs. Due to the differing relationships of concord between be and non-be verbs and the historical development that led to the present system, it is not surprising that there are differing degrees of nonstandard concord as well. In addition, the auxiliary status of be may play a role, since, as will be seen, the behavior of the auxiliary have with respect to concord is much more like that of present tense be than that of other non-be verbs.

In addition, in the case of be, contracted and non-contracted forms were separated during data extraction. This distinction will not, however, be maintained for analysis since contraction is not an influence on agreement. Instead, it seems more likely that agreement marking influences contraction in that forms of the verb be differ in their ability to be contracted. The incidence of singular agreement with plural subjects when the be form is contracted turned out to be categorical, except for the cases of present tense be with pronoun subjects where agreement is almost always standard. This pattern seems to be a result of the difference between the singular and plural forms of be. In the past tense, for instance, the singular form was is often contracted in AE and OF to 's (/z/), but the plural form were is seldom contracted to 're (and such contraction would typically take place only following a vocalic segment). A similar situation is found with singular is and plural are for the present tense, although are is often contracted with the pronouns which end in vowels. Because of these factors, it is not surprising that contracted forms only show nonstandard agreement (with the one exception) since the singular forms of be are more widely contractible. With the contraction rule following specifications of agreement, then, the type of marking selected will influence the likelihood of contraction taking place.

Some examples of the different categories of verbs that showed nonstandard agreement marking with plural subjects by those speakers include the following:

5. Present tense be:

   a. My eyes is not as good. (AE 32:5)

   b. There's about three jobs. (AE 15:28)

c. Most of the kids up there is younger than I am. (OE 8:6)

d. People's calling me, wanting me to take somebody to the doctor. (OE 26:12)

6. Past tense be:

a. They was more than willing to help you. (AE 30:11)

b. Logs, sticks and rocks was rolling. (AE 22:10)

c. Frank's dad and his daddy was brothers. (OE 1b:7)

d. ...to see if there was any inhabitants. (OE 16:2)

7. have:

a. My children hasn't ever had it. (AE 28:30)

b. Her nerves has been all tore up. (AE 36:38)

c. Smaller schools has got smaller groups in the classes. (OE 38:16)

d. My mother and daddy's talked about it. (OE 34:19)

8. Other verbs:

a. Some people likes them better. (AE 164:19)

b. The older ones wants to talk. (AE 48:6)

c. My two brothers lives right around us. (OE 15:13)

d. Me and him takes care of it. (OE 41b:45)

The variation in concord relationships found in varieties such as AE and OE may signal the process of further change occurring in the system. Since concord with person or number in the past tense has disappeared entirely in English for verbs other than be, it could be expected that the change eliminating the distinction for be as well would be more advanced than the others. The data from AE and OE support such an expectation about change, assuming that a higher incidence of nonstandard concord indicates a more advanced change. The overall figures for the four categories of verbs considered, given in the bottom line of

Table 8.2, show that there is a much greater likelihood of nonstandard concord occurring with a past tense be form than with have, present tense be, or other verbs. That is, was is more likely to occur for standard were with a plural subject than has for have, is for are or goes for go. In AE and OE, then, the concord system in the past tense for be more closely approximates that for other verbs in that was is used predominantly for both singular and plural subjects, much like the pattern in which a single form is used for the past tenses of other verbs.

Table 8.2 also shows another influence on agreement in the nature of the plural subject. An obvious distinction is that between a pronoun such as you, we, or they, and other nominals. This particular distinction apparently interacts strongly with the type of verb, since a pronoun subject with be in the past tense shows a high incidence of nonstandard concord as compared with the other categories which have almost none (74.1 and 73.7 percent with past tense be as opposed to less than one percent in each of the other categories). The "subtotal" line in the table is included in order to show the difference in effect on concord between pronominal and non-pronominal subjects for the verb categories. For past tense be there is hardly any difference, while in the other cases, the contrast is quite striking. Expletive there is also separated out because of its unusual status, a point which will be discussed shortly.

Within the general class of plural subjects there are also differences in effects on concord, but they seem more constant across the types of verbs. Various classes of plural subjects were considered in this investigation, but four main categories emerge as influential on

Type of Subject	Type of Verb: Past be	have	Present be	Other Verbs	Total
Expletive *there*	145/157 92.4%	2/2 100%	168/178 94.4%	–	315/337 93.5%
Conjoined NP	60/67 89.6%	5/7 71.4%	9/15 60.0%	8/16 50.0%	82/105 78.1%
Other NP	101/162 62.3%	17/38 44.7%	49/186 26.3%	27/133 20.3%	194/519 37.4%
Collective NP	13/25 52.0%	9/23 39.1%	14/40 35.0%	22/88 25.0%	58/176 40.0%
NP Subtotal	174/254 68.5%	31/68 45.6%	72/241 29.9%	57/237 24.1%	334/800 41.8%
Pronoun	689/900 76.6	0/620 0	4/815 0.5%	4/1698 0.2%	697/4033 17.3%
Total	1008/1311 76/9%	33/690 4.8%	244/1234 19.8%	61/1935 3.2%	1346/5170 26.0%

Table 8.2a. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord Marking by Type of Verb and Type of Subject: Appalachian English

Type of Subject	Type of Verb: Past be	have	Present be	Other Verbs	Total
Expletive *there*	83/91 91.2%	3/8 37.5%	75/104 72.1%	-	161/203 79.3%
Conjoined NP	11/14 78.6%	5/9 55.6%	0/1 0	8/22 36.4%	24/46 52.2%
Other NP	27/42 64.3%	6/11 54.5%	13/54 24.1%	14/53 29.1%	60/160 38.3%
Collective NP	13/28 46.4%	9/27 33.3%	15/34 44.1%	17/66 25.8%	54/155 34.8%
NP Subtotal	51/84 60.7%	20/47 42.6%	28/89 31.5%	39/141 27.7%	138/361 38.2%
Pronoun	233/323 72.1%	0/376 0%	1/410 0.2%	1/1164 0.09%	235/2273 10.3%
Total	367/498 73.7%	23/431 5.3%	104/603 17.2%	40/1305 3.1%	534/2837 18.8%

Table 8.2b. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord Marking by Type of Verb and Type of Subject: Ozark English

agreement patterns. These are illustrated in the following instances from the corpus:

9. Conjoined noun phrase:

   a. Me and my sister gets in a fight sometimes. (AE 1:25)

   b. Me and my brothers was out hunting. (OE 25:10)

10. Collective noun phrase:

   a. Some people makes it from fat off a pig. (AE 164:30)

   b. Most of them talks about the same way (OE 15:25)

11. Other plural noun phrase:

   a. ...no matter what their parents has taught'em. (AE 61:32)

   b. All three brothers lives at Wesley. (OE 35a:19)

12. Expletive there:

   a. There was a lot of rocks. (AE 157:26)

   b. There's three townships up here that's real sparsely populated. (OE 23:12)

The examples in (9) through (11) contain grammatically plural subjects (in the standard system). Conjoined noun phrases are those with two or more constituents, each of which may be singular or plural, joined by a conjunction like and or or (a boy and his daddy, David and them, their fathers and mothers). These typically function as plural subjects, although, as Morgan (1972) pointed out, there are instances when they may be interpreted as singular (see the previous section). Conjoined subjects turn out to favor the use of an alternate form of agreement. This may be related to the fact that when such structures occur as subjects, the conjunct closest to the verb is often singular. Of the 150 conjoined noun phrase subjects tabulated for agreement marking, 135 had singular final conjuncts. In a comparison of singular

and plural closest conjuncts for this sample, there was a marked difference in the incidence of nonstandard agreement related to the number of the closest part of the subject to the verb. The figures for the two varieties are shown in Table 8.3.

Final Conjunct	AE		OE		Total	
Singular	78/95	82.1%	22/40	55.0%	100/135	74.1%
Plural	3/9	33.3%	2/6	33.3%	5/15	33.3%

Table 8.3. Incidence of Nonstandard Concord with Conjoined Noun Phrase Subjects with Singular vs. Plural Final Conjuncts

Since the instances of singular final conjuncts far outnumber those of plural conjuncts, the effects shown may not be representative. In fact, referring back to Table 8.2., we can see that the level of nonstandardness with plural final conjuncts in conjoined noun phrases is quite comparable to that of other plural noun phrase subjects. Thus, the presence of a singular element in a conjoined subject closest to the verb appears to produce higher frequencies of nonstandard agreement marking.

The second type of noun phrase distinguished is referred to as "collective". This term was chosen to indicate those subjects which refer to an indeterminate group, and which do not have singular and plural forms, but act grammatically plural. The prime example is people, and others include noun phrases like the police, some of them, a lot of children, and so on. Since these items are fairly commonly used, with people by far the most frequent member of the group, this type of subject could be tabulated. Although in some cases the number of tokens is relatively low, the subject category of collective noun

phrases shows a somewhat lower incidence of nonstandard concord than other non-conjoined noun phrases within most of the verb categories, as shown in Table 8.2. The differences between the two subject types are greater in OE than in AE; curiously, in both varieties the opposite relationship holds between the subject categories for the present tense *be* cases (that is, collective subjects have a higher level of nonstandard usage). There is no apparent explanation for this reversal. There may be, however, be an influence in the contractability of *is* with the most frequent member of the collective noun phrases, *people*.

The remaining collection of noun phrase subjects ("other NP") were simply grouped together since no further distinctions seemed to be significant at this point. This group, then, apparently occupies the middle range between conjoined noun phrases, which are associated with slightly higher levels of nonstandard usage, and collective subjects, which show somewhat lower levels.

The final category, expletive *there*, is quite different from the other categories since it is not actually a type of subject, but rather a type of construction. *There* fills the surface subject slot but it contributes little to the meaning of the sentence. Sentences containing this use of *there* are closely related to other sentences, as shown in the following pair:

13.a. Four cows are in the barn.

b. There are four cows in the barn.

The subjects in sentences like (13a), before the *there* is inserted, govern agreement in the standard paradigm, an important fact about this construction for the present discussion. In this way, a sentence with *there* can have a verb marked for either singular or plural agreement in

the standard pattern, depending on the following noun phrase. In both AE and OE, as in some other southern varieties, the item they may correspond to the expletive there. The following sentences are observed in the corpus:

14.a. They say if they's a lotta wooly worms, you know dark wooly worms, it'll be a bad winter. (AE 28:5)

b. They wasn't no freezers. (AE 22:10)

15.a. They's lots of people that comes to church. (OE 40b:73)

b. They was a hundred of them.. (OE 28:1)

Given the contexts in which these sentences were uttered, it is apparent that they is used in both AE and OE as a correspondence for the standard English expletive there by some speakers. Since this pronunciation difference does not appear to affect the construction in any other way, instances with they were treated the same as those with there, and were included in the tabulation when the standard paradigm would have plural agreement marking on the verb.[1]

Although there can be inserted in sentences with other verbs, it predominantly occurs with be. In this sample, the ten instances of there with verbs other than be are all uses of the auxiliary have, which represents part of the past particle of be. The fact that the subject is removed from its usual position preceding the verb may contribute to the higher degree of nonstandard concord with there (as did other types of separations between subject and verb). The interaction of the rule of there, as illustrated earlier, and the rules of agreement marking is generally accounted for by ordering the rules in a certain way (Akmajian and Heny 1975:201). That is, if agreement rules are ordered with a following noun phrase can be accounted for. In this way, too, the unity

of agreement as involving a verb and a preceding noun phrase can be maintained. The present data, however, show *there* predominantly taking singular agreement (100% of the instances where a singular noun phrase follows and 93.5/79.3 percent (AE/OE) with a plural noun phrase). The figures for *there* in AE seem independent of the type of noun phrase that follows, although, as subject, it would determine the agreement marking in the standard English paradigm. In OE, the *there* construction is set apart as well, although not as dramatically. Because of this, is appears that *there* cannot be treated simply as an extension of the pattern of alternate forms of agreement. It is a special constraint on nonstandard concord marking which does not seem to interact with the other constraints. This may indicate that expletive *there* in these varieties is being reanalyzed as a singular subject, rather than the 'dummy' subject it is considered to be in standard English. Or alternatively, the rules of agreement marking and *there*-insertion are being reordered so that agreement operates on *there* as a singular subject. Although some of the speakers exhibit some incidence of standard agreement with *there* when a plural noun phrase follows the verb (26 of the 92 in the sample), many show categorical singular agreement (57 speakers). Only four, all OE speakers, show categorical standard agreement marking with *there*. (The remaining 5 speakers did not use the construction.)

Some further observations can be made on the basis of the figures in Table 8.2, all of which apply to both AE and OE. The past form of *be* shows consistently higher rates of nonstandard agreement forms than the present tense verbs (with the exception of some minor differences with *there*). The ordering of subject types is basically comparable for the

various verb categories in terms of how they affect the use of nonstandard agreement forms. A similar pattern is produced by the ordering of verbs within each subject category. There are deviations, but a fairly orderly pattern emerges. In this way, the tables demonstrate the interrelationship of the two major constraints on agreement in AE and OE which appear to operate quite similarly.

A rather striking difference appears in the behavior of pronouns, however. As observed earlier, pronouns participate fully in the process of nonstandard agreement for the other verbs. This display indicates that concord operates differently in the two tenses in AE and OE which may, in turn, be related to a possible locus of change in the system or how far change has advanced. What may underlie this variation is an evolving generalization of _was_ for both singular and plural subjects with the past tense of _be_, in conformance with the pattern for the past tense in other verbs. This would simplify the system, since _be_ would no longer be exceptional by requiring an agreement marking in the past tense in contrast with all other verbs.

For the present tense, however, it does not seem to be the verb form (third person singular) that is generalizing. If it were simply a matter of the number distinction being lost, as it is in the past tense, all third person plural subjects, including the pronoun _they_, would be expected to be involved. Instead, _they_ behaves like the other grammatically plural pronominal forms (_you_ and _we_) and is relatively unaffected. The variation between standard and nonstandard forms of agreement with present tense verbs (_be_ and other verbs) occurs nearly exclusively with nonpronominal subjects. This could reflect a difference in the number feature assigned to the subject itself, rather

than a difference in the way the number feature determines agreement. That is, for the present tense, non-pronominal plural subjects may be marked to take grammatically singular agreement on the verb.

Early in this discussion, we noted that agreement marking in AE and OE operates in essentially the same way. Our consideration of the data for plural subjects, reported in Table 8.2, has documented the similarities in the range of contexts in which nonstandard marking occurs in the two varieties in the basic relationship among verb and subject types. We can further substantiate this strong resemblance between the two varieties by comparing levels of nonstandard marking for a range of verb-subject combinations. For the types of verbs, we will include the four categories delimited in Table 8.2--past tense _be_, present tense _be_, _have_, and other verbs. For the subjects, we will make only the major distinction, between pronouns and non-pronominal noun phrases. The final category to be included will be _there_. This grouping yields 9 contexts for concord marking. When we compare the incidence of nonstandard agreement for these categories in AE and OE, we obtain the results shown in Table 8.4.

Thus, not only are AE and OE alike in the contexts for nonstandardness, the ordering of these contexts according to degree of nonstandardness also matches. In addition, the actual frequencies bear a strong resemblance to each other. This comparison is portrayed in Figure 8.2, which shows clearly the closeness of the pattern for concord marking in plural contexts for AE and OE. We will comment further on in relationship between these varieties of English in later sections.

Context Category	AE	OE
There	93.5%	79.3%
PRO + Past be	76.6	72.1
NP + Past be	68.5	60.5
NP + Pres. have	45.6	42.6
NP + Pres. be	29.9	31.5
NP + Other verb	24.1	27.7
PRO + Pres. be	0.5	0.2
PRO + Other Verb	0.2	0.1
PRO + Pres. have	0	0

Table 8.4. Comparison of Concord Marking in AE and OE

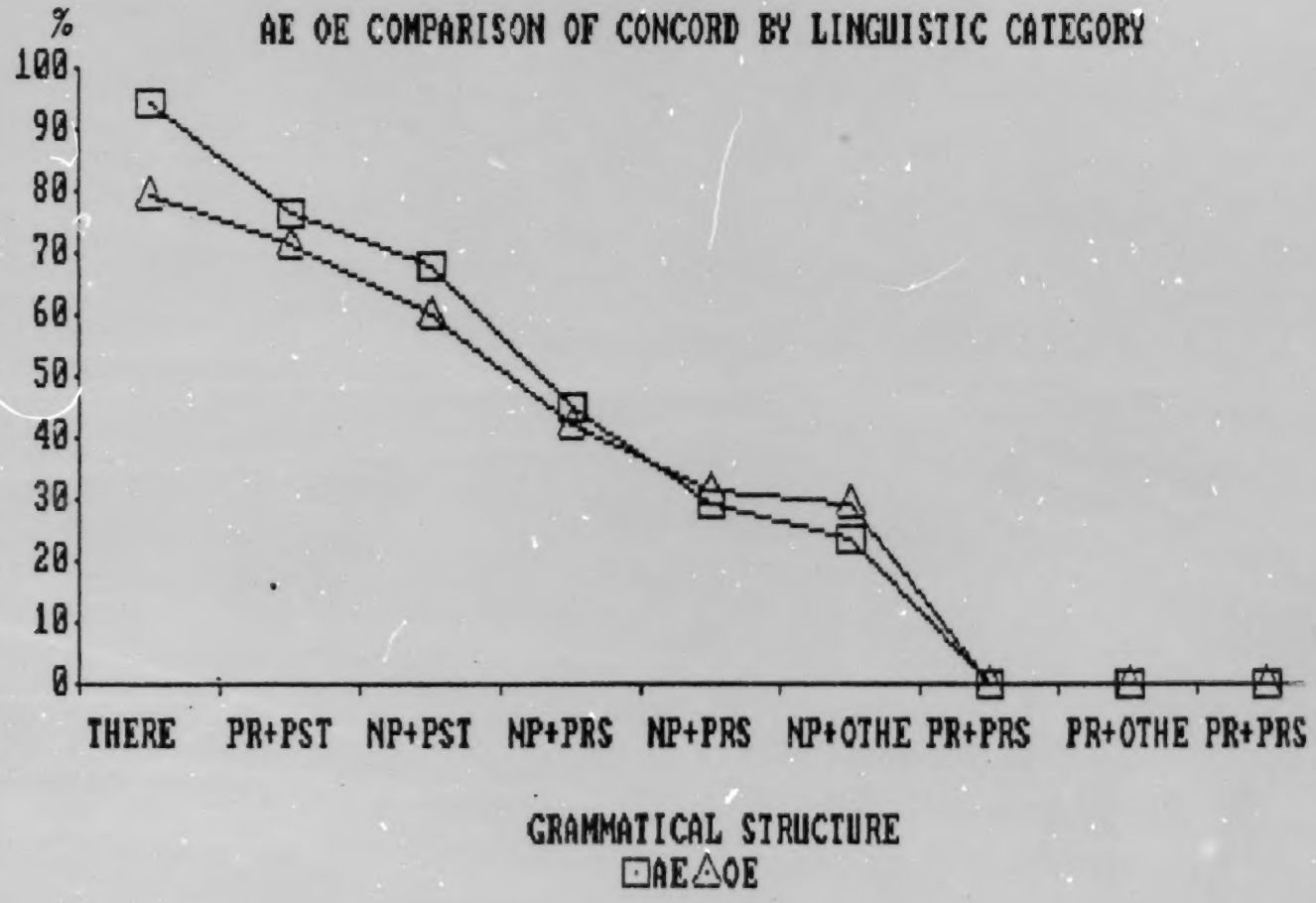

Figure 8.2. Comparison of Concord Marking in AE and OE by Linguistic Category

Agreement with Singular Subjects

This account has shown that nonstandard forms of concord in AE and OE typically occur where a plural subject is present. This contrasts with a variety such as Vernacular Black English which has extensive -s absence in the third person singular forms. (See Wolfram and Fasold 1974:153-158 for a discussion of the differences between varieties of English in the area of agreement marking.) There are some instances of this type of nonstandard concord but they are for the most part isolated, infrequent occurrences. The one exception to this statement is the use of don't with third person singular subjects, a common form which is characteristic of many non-mainstream varieties. Some examples from the corpus are given in 16-17).

16.a. Well, a whipping don't do no good. (AE 35:8)

b. He don't beat her now. (AE 151:33)

17.a. My mom don't like me to chew. (OE 8:11)

b. It don't seem to bother you. (OE 22:8)

As Wolfram and Fasold (1975:155) note, this form seems to favor -s absence in many varieties where -s absence is otherwise never or very seldom found, which seems to be the case here. When we examine the frequency of don't as opposed to doesn't in third person singular contexts, we find a quite consistent result (Table 8.5):

Type of Subject	AE		OE	
Pronoun	109/134	81.3	55/68	77.9
NP	23/31	74.2	22/27	81.5
Total	132/165	80.0	75/95	78.9

Table 8.5. Frequency of Use of don't with Singular Subjects

There appears to be no important differences in the degree of don't usage according to features of the linguistic context, as the figures that distinguish between types of subject in Table 8.5 indicate. In addition, the overall levels for AE and OE show once again a strong quantitative resemblence between the varieties. These figures can be compared with a variety of Vernacular Black English investigated by Fasold (1972:124) where don't occurred in 87.5 percent of the cases with third person singular subject or a non-mainstream variety of American Indian English (Wolfram et al 1979:294) where the incidence was 59.5%. Although the overall frequency levels may vary, the pattern for don't in AE and OE does not appear to differ from that found for other non-mainstream varieties.

Patterns of Variation in Subject-Verb Concord

Prior to further discussion of variation in agreement patterns for this sample of AE, it will be useful to refer to two other pertinent treatments of non-mainstream varieties with respect to concord. The first, presented in Feagin (1979), deals with a variety of White Alabama English. Many of the observations she makes about agreement in that variety coincide with those made here. For the most part, nonstandard agreement occurred, as in AE and OE, where a grammatically plural subject was paired with a verb marked for singular agreement. In addition, the highest frequencies were observed in the cases of expletive there and past tense be with plural subjects.

Hackenberg (1972) describes a sample of Appalachian speech from another section of West Virginia. Not surprisingly, the data he reports are quite similar to what has been observed here, which would seem to

lend support to the generalizability of the relationships found in this study. He summarizes the patterns of variation from the standard paradigm as follows:

> ...First of all, the third person singular form of present tense verb forms of [standard English] are used both when the subject is third person singular and when it is third person plural. The only exception to this is that this never happens when the third person plural subject is a pronoun.
>
> The second part of the pattern deals with the past tense of the verb be. ...In the corpus, was is used for both the singular and the plural. Unlike the present tense verbs, there is no restriction on the type of plural subject with which this occurs. (Hackenberg 1972:91-92)

Hackenberg presents an analysis of the data using variable rules. This approach naturally carries with it the problems discussed earlier with respect to formalizing agreement relationships in English. However, as Hackenberg deals with only the straightforward cases of the standard paradigm in his rules, these problems will not be discussed again here. He refers to Jacobs and Rosenbaum's (1968) work in giving his account of the rules for standard agreement (Hackenberg 1972:58). He presents a series of transformational rules, one of which deals generally with concord in the case of third person singular subjects and others which specify the particular forms of past and present tense be. The first rule involves replacing an auxiliary segment which is marked [-PAST] with the Z_3 morpheme (third person singular present tense verb suffix) when the subject has the features [+III] (third person) and [+SG] (singular). Three sets of constraints are posited as influences on the operation of agreement which are similar to but do not coincide exactly with those that have been discussed here. They are: (1) the type of verb (be or non-be); (2) the type of subject (pronouns you, we,

they, expletive there or other non-pronominal noun phrase); and (3) tense (present or past). Hackenberg then rewrites two transformations similar to those mentioned earlier as variable rules, incorporating these constraints, to account for the variation in concord. Although the factor of tense is referred to as a constraint, this does not show up in any of the rules since there is a variable rule for present tense verbs and one for past tense be. Hence only the constraints listed in the first two groups are built into the rules.

The first rule Hackenberg states is the transformation which replaces the auxiliary with the Z_3 morpheme for present tense verbs with third singular subjects. The rule is given as follows:

Z_3 Concordance (Hackenberg 1972:70):

$$X\left[\begin{bmatrix}+III\\ *(+SG)\\ -*\begin{pmatrix}-SG\\ +PRO\end{pmatrix}\end{bmatrix}_{NP}\right] \quad Y\left[\begin{bmatrix}+VERB\\ A\ ([COP])\end{bmatrix}\right] \quad [-PAST] \quad B\left(\begin{matrix}There\\ [+EXIST]\end{matrix}\right) \quad Z\Big]_{VP} \quad]$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \quad 7 \longrightarrow$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad Z_3 \quad 6 \quad 7$$

Two constraints are hierarchized in the representation, with the presence of the verb be as the highest order constraint (shown in A([+COP]) and the presence of expletive there as a second order (B) constraint. The complex of features with the noun phrase (NP) is intended to indicate that the Z_3 morpheme is always added with a third person singular subject and never occurs with a third person plural subject which is a pronoun. The remaining option, a non-pronominal plural subject, is not listed but the claim is made that this notation indicates that the rule 'sometimes applies' in that context (Hackenberg 1972:71). In reality,

the other two constraints are only relevant in that case and influence how frequent the 'sometimes' is.

An immediate problem with this representation is the inclusion of the constraint *there* in the formulation of the rule. According to most accounts, *there* insertion is a separate rule which is generally ordered after agreement rules. Although this ordering may not apply for some AE speakers, Hackenberg gives no justification for the potential presence of *there* in the structure which undergoes his concordance transformations. As Morgan (1972:281) points out, according to the usual ordering of these rules, agreement would have to be a global rule in order to take into account whether or not *there*-insertion will be applied in the derivation. In order to maintain this formulation, then, Hackenberg would either have to argue for the status of this transformation as a global rule or justify in some other way the presence of *there* at this point in the derivation for his AE speakers. A second difficulty involves the hierarchy of constraints proposed. In considering the relative strengths of the two constraints, to determine which should be the alpha constraint, Hackenberg notes that a crucial cross-product is missing. That is, while a frequency of nonstandard concord was observable for the cases where both *be* and *there* are present (63 percent), where neither is present (30 percent), and where *be* is present but *there* is not (43 percent), no frequency was available for the fourth logical possibility, +*there*, -*be*. Hackenberg (1972:71) assumes that *be* is the stronger constraint, and predicts that for that fourth case, the frequency would fall between 43 and 30 percent. However, again, no justification is given for this conclusion and it would seem that some further consideration of the problem is warranted.

The figures from the sample collected for this study point to the possibility of *there* outranking *be* since it appears to be a strong influence on agreement, but this remains uncertain because of the scarcity of examples where *there* occurs with a non-*be* verb.

For the past tense form of *be*, another rule is formulated in Hackenberg's account. In this case, the constraints exclusively involve the type of subject, since the rule is specific to a single verb in a single tense. We will not discuss this second rule in detail here, but it has many of the same problems associated with it. Expletive *there* is again listed as a constraint, and the hierarchizing of constraints presents difficulties as well.

In sum, although Hackenberg's presentation of the data serves to confirm what has been observed here, his analysis cannot be adopted. There are too many problems that have yet to be resolved in formulating rules for agreement in English to begin with. In addition, the nature of the apparent constraints on variation, for instance, in the special case of expletive *there*, adds further complexity to the situation. Hence, while the constraints Hackenberg has proposed seem for the most part to be valid ones and are generally supported by this data set, their incorporation into variable rules is not as straightforward as his presentation would seem to imply.

On final reference is relevant here. Dumas (1971) deals with speakers from Newton County, Arkansas, very close to the OE area under study here. Although she does not examine subject-verb agreement in its entirety, her observations concerning the behavior of certain verbs lend further support to the patterns found here. For the special case of *don't* with singular subjects, she notes: "The form *don't* ... is almost

universal. The form doesn't ... is recorded in the speech of only one informant." (Dumas 1971:164) With past tense be forms, Dumas finds was to occur categorically (100% of the time) with the grammatically plural pronouns you, we and they (1971:164, 166). Expletive there also shows categorical behavior, with there's/they's (present tense be) and there was/there'uz (past tense be) the only forms recorded with all grammatical subjects (1971:166). Finally, Dumas also finds singular agreement with subjects people and some (1971:165) (classified here as collective nouns). Thus, while the complete picture is not available, Dumas' observations coincide with the characteristics of the OE sample here; her categorically nonstandard features are those with the highest rates of nonstandardness for the speakers here as well.

An alternate way of examining the patterning of variation in agreement marking uses the technique of implicational analysis. As discussed in the case of irregular verbs, these relationships may reflect change in progress. In any event, they show the systematic nature of variation in language as they form the underlying patterns in the use of a particular features or features. In the case of agreement in AE and OE, the relationships among the conditioning factors can be examined as they relate to the incidence of nonstandard forms. (These factors were described earlier.) Since only isolated cases of nonstandard agreement exist with singular subjects, this discussion will be limited to patterns found for plural subjects.

In terms of the sample as a whole, the figures shown in Table 8.2 indicate how the constraints pattern in their effect on agreement marking. The complexities represented by the factors listed there have already been discussed, and even though several different processes may

be represented by them, they may be implicationally related. That is, even though the process which determines agreement with expletive *there* may involve a different rule or rules than the ones which account for the nature of concord with past tense *be*, an implicational relationship may hold between the two factors, in terms of their involvement in nonstandard agreement in marking. Such a relationship would exist if, in the presence of one of the contexts, the incidence of nonstandard concord was consistently lower than when the other one was present. (The nature of implicational analysis is discussed more fully in Chapter Three.)

When the nature of implicational relationships was investigated in terms of individual speakers, certain limitations of the data became apparent. It was not possible, for instance, to examine the behavior of individuals with respect to each combination of factors found in the two dimensional chart in Table 8.2. Even if enough data had been available, the formalization of such relationships in terms of an implicational scale would be very difficult. It would require a three-dimensional figure since the contexts cannot be linearly arranged. As a result of these limitations, the implicational relationships by individual speakers were examined only according to factors which could be linearly arranged and which were general enough to give an adequate data base.

The scales which display the relationships found in AE and OE are given in Table 8.6. As in the scales presented in Chapter Seven, deviations from the pattern are marked. The relationship portrayed among these factors in terms of their effect on the incidence of nonstandard concord coincide for the two varieties and can be summarized as in (18):

Speakers	Age/Sex	Other Verb Pres	Pres be/have	Past be	Expletive there
87	24m	0	0	0	1
70;158	13F;25M	0	0	X	X
4;7;66 149;152;154	13M;17M;17F; 18F;64F;13F	0	0	X	X
203;211;215	45F;77M;91M	0	0	X	1
153;212	83F;90M	0	0	1	1
207	48M	0	X	X	-
155;214	17M; 90M	0	X	X	X
28;32;65;150	42F;54M;15F;13F	0	X	X	1
22;44	60M;14M	0	-	X	1
77;205	11F;81F	0	X	1	1
29;37;64 151;160	33F;45F;15F; 18F;56F	X	X	X	X
148	13F	X	X	(1)	X
75	10F	-	-	(1)	X
157;206	52F;60F	X	(0)	X	X
1;31;40; 61;156	15M;67M;39F 14F;20F	X	X	X	1
46	15M	-	X	1	1
6;10	14M;14M	X	-	1	1
30;35;36 146;164	50M;22F;27F 52M;33M	X	X	1	1
51;85	10M;78F	X	1	1	1
2	13M	1	(X)	1	-
83	93F	1	(X)	1	(X)
124	11M	1	-	(X)	1
17;74	16M;11F	1	1	(X)	1
159	20M	1	-	1	1

Table 8.6a Implicational Scale for Incidence of Nonstandard Concord in AE

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Speakers	Age/Sex	Other Verb. Pres	Present be/have	Past be	Expletive there
43	34F	0	0	0	0
1a;1b;27;39	77M;91F;28F;36F	0	0	X	X
16;23	14M;32M	0	0	X	1
17	15M	0	0	1	(0)
9,13	14F;15F	0	0	1	1
34	34F	0	X	(0)	X
33;42	55M;30F	0	X	X	X
5;10;12 19;30;32b	77M;17M;12F 13F;70F;78F	0	X	X	1
25;32a	59M;92M	0	X	1	1
22	15M	X	(0)	X	X
46	22M	X	X	X	(0)
26;40a	55F;80M	X	X	X	X
11;35a;35b; 38;41b	12M;36M;35F; 25F;59F	X	X	X	1
8;29;36; 41a	17M;69M;48M; 62M	X	X	1	(X)
15;28;40b	16F;71F;84F	X	X	1	1

Table 8.6b. Implicational Scale for Incidence of Nonstandard Concord in OE

16. Other Present Tense Verbs ⊃ Present Tense *have/be* ⊃ Past Tense *be* ⊃ Expletive *there*

In other words, a speaker who uses some form like *flowers grows* would be likely to use a greater incidence of forms like *flowers has* or *flowers is*, more *flowers was* and the highest rate would be expected for forms like *there's flowers*.

The selection of these categories was not entirely arbitrary, although amount of data available for each was a consideration. As discussed earlier, the presence of expletive *there* appears to favor consistently the use of singular agreement, perhaps independently of the other factors present. The way in which it is implicationally related to the presence of the verb forms shown in the chart seems to give further evidence for viewing concord with *there* as a result of a different process. This process may consist of the treatment of *there* simply as a singular subject as suggested earlier. The other categories involve the basic verb types. A major division occurs between tenses, and since the verb *be* is the only one which calls for agreement in its standard forms for the past tense, it is considered separately. Also, since similar levels of nonstandard agreement marking for past tense *be* were observed for both pronominal and non-pronominal subjects, both were included within the category. For the other verb categories, pronominal subjects were not included, since they behave so differently with respect to agreement. Within the present tense verbs, there were several possible distinctions to be made, since the verbs *be* and *have* as well as 'other verbs' were tabulated. Since *have* had so few tokens, (an average of just over one per speaker with non-pronominal subjects), it was combined with the present tense *be* forms.

In Table 8.6, where 0 indicates no nonstandard agreement forms, 1 categorical nonstandard usage and X fluctuation between standard and nonstandard forms, a three-valued scale is present. The scalability of the three-valued chart for AE (Table 8.6a) according to the traditional method of calculation, with 210 filled cells and 10 deviations, turns out to be 95.2 percent. For the OE scale (Table 8.6b), the calculations are based on 148 filled cells with 8 deviations, for a scalability rating of 94.6%. (These figures should be viewed with appropriate caution as simply rough approximations of how well the data as arranged scales, as mentioned in earlier chapters.)

If we examine the scales in terms of potential language change in progress, we can make several observations. The implicational relationships shown there would form a basis for charting the direction of such change. From this viewpoint, for instance, the environment with expletive there would be seen as approaching completion in the change to categorical singular agreement marking and it would be predicted that the change to exclusive was use for the past tense of be would be the next one to move to completion. The dynamic aspect of variation in the patterns of concord is undoubtedly much more complex than this, given the other distinctions that can be made in the conditioning factors that were treated in earlier sections. The relationships displayed in the scale here, however, give some insight into the nature of the patterns underlying the variation and the direction of language change that may be occurring. We cannot jump to the conclusion that change is actually taking place, though, in the absence of supportive data of other types, some of which we will examine next.

Social Variables and Language Change

The operation of agreement in OE and Ae does not appear to be related in any direct way to the social variables of age or sex. The implicational patterns arranged by individual speakers in Table 8.6 point to this conclusion. The upper lines of the scales reflect more standard behavior; the lower lines represent less standard behavior. If we examine the column labeled "Age/Sex" in either scale, moving from top to bottom, we see a mixture of age levels and sexes throughout. There is little indication of any relationship between either social variable and degree of nonstandardness.

The actual frequencies of nonstandard concord marking are compiled for each age group in Table 8.7. In both AE and OE, there seems to be a pattern in which the youngest and oldest groups have higher rates of nonstandard concord marking, with a progression roughly as follows: the youngest (10-15) group with a fairly high level of nonstandardness, the next (16-30) with a lower level, the middle group (31-50) with the lowest rate for the variety, then an upswing to the second oldest with a higher rate (dramatically so for OE), and then to yet a higher rate for the oldest group. This is perhaps more clearly illustrated in Figure 8.3, where the overall figures for each age group are compared. The diagram shows that the behavior of the different age groups of AE speakers is fairly consistent (remembering, of course, that these are average values for each group, and, in fact, the individual variation ranges much more widely). The OE age groups, on the other hand, display greater differences, with the biggest break between the groups under and over 50 years of age. There is no obvious explanation for this behavior for the different age groups. For our consideration of the possibility

of language change being in progress, however, the tabulations fail to show the kind of age group patterning which would support the notion that change is occurring. The fact that the older groups tend to have higher levels of nonstandardness, on the average, gives a weak indication that the standard forms of agreement may prevail.

The situation of variation in agreement in AE and OE is in many ways similar to that of the irregular verbs (Chapter Seven) with respect to change in progress. There is again evidence both for and against considering the variation to be a reflection of change taking place. Historically, the system of subject-verb agreement marking has undergone substantial change, resulting in simplification of the system. For the be verb categories at least, the nonstandard forms conform to the direction that past changes in verbs have taken, that of eliminating agreement distinctions in the past tense and reducing them in the present tense. For the 'other verb' category, the nonstandardness does not represent the direction a natural change would be expected to take since it involves expanding the use of an agreement marking suffix. On another level, though, it can be viewed as moving toward removing the number distinction for third person subjects, so that both singular and plural subjects occur with suffixed verbs. In this sense, it might be seen as a generalization.

The absence of a pattern of generational differences, where younger speakers exhibit a more advanced stage in a change than older speakers, tends to offer support to the conclusion that this is not a case of change. However, in line with the comments concerning this factor in irregular verb usage, it is also possible that there is a mixture of social subgroups within the sample that confounds the measurement of

Age Group	There	Past be	Present be/have	Other Verbs	Overall
AE:10-15	92.6%	86.2%	35.7%	23.1%	72.0%
16-30	94.0	75.0	29.1	18.5	65.9
31-50	94.1	66.3	38.5	28.0	59.2
51-70	95.0	65.3	30.8	30.6	61.4
70+	91.4	69.3	32.3	21.1	66.4
OE:10-15	95.0	72.5	46.2	9.4	56.0
16-30	73.3	50.0	29.0	27.7	48.5
31-50	50.0	41.3	13.5	25.0	34.4
51-70	85.4	79.3	48.7	46.2	70.7
70+	92.6	88.6	56.3	60.0	86.4

Table 8.7. Frequency of Nonstandard Concord in AE and OE by Age Group and Linguistic Category.

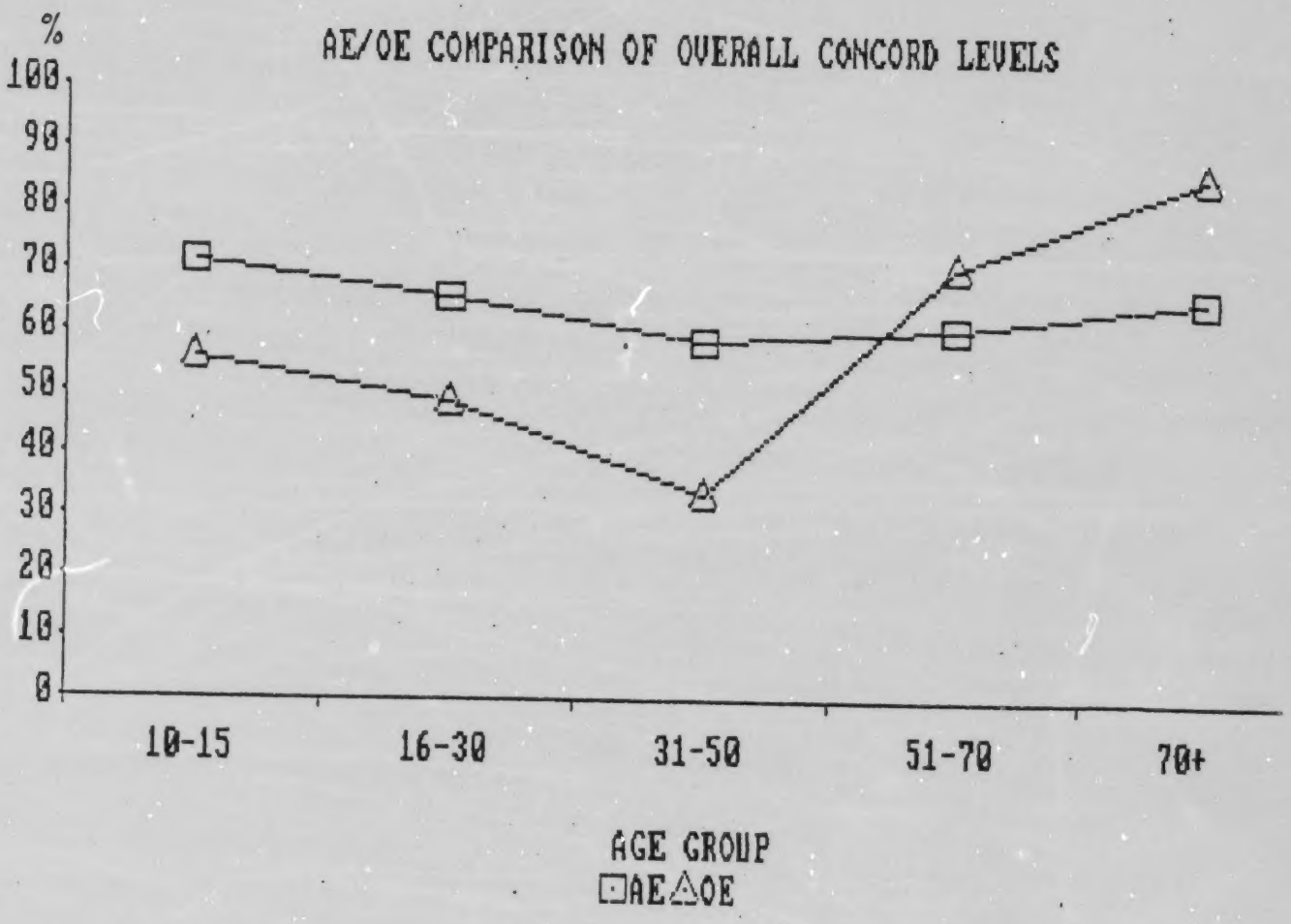
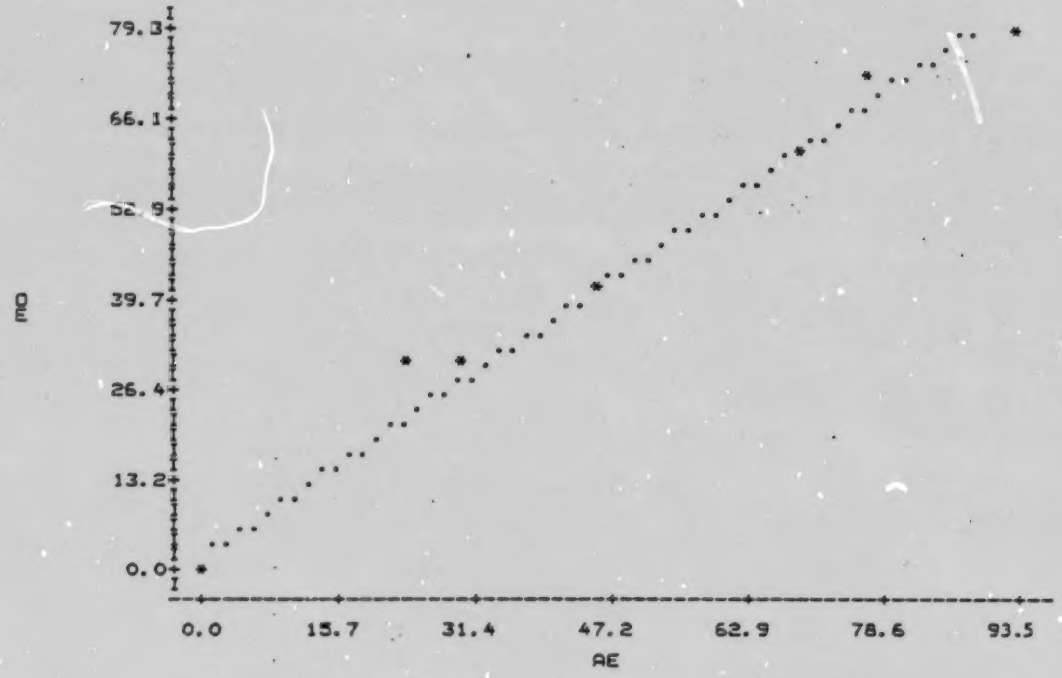


Figure 8.3. Comparison of Overal Concord Marking in AE and OE by Age Group

frequencies by age groups. The exception appears to be expletive there where the behavior of the entire sample is quite consistent (with 57 of the 87 speakers who use the construction showing categorically singular agreement with plural subjects). This can be interpreted as an advanced stage in the change, a conclusion also supported by evidence from other varieties, with similarly high levels of singular agreement marking with there.[2] The case of variation in subject-verb concord marking is thus problematic in terms of deciding whether or not the variability is a sign of change in progress.

The Relationship among AE, OE and Other Varieties of English

As the examination of concord marking in AE and OE has progressed, we have seen strong similarities, both qualitative and quantitative, between the two varieties. Qualitatively, both show consistently high levels of singular agreement with all expletive there structures, varying degrees of nonstandardness with plural subjects and no nonstandardness with grammatically singular subjects, with the exception of the lexical item don't. Quantitatively, we have observed the same ordering of categories in a set of implicational relationships (Table 8.6) and, in measures of frequency of usage of nonstandard forms, the patterns according to both linguistic category (Table 8.4) and age groups (Table 8.7) held strong resemblences. To give a statistical indication of the significance of this similarity, a correlational analysis was performed, using the overall figures for the 9 linguistic categories in each variety given in Table 8.4. The results are given in Figure 8.4. As it turns out, there is a high correlation between AE and OE on these parameters. This relationship provides further evidence indicating a close



Mean of X = 37.74	Correlation coefficient = 0.99	Valid cases = 9
S.D. of X = 33.64	Degrees of freedom = 7	Missing cases = 0
Mean of Y = 35.14	Slope of regression line = 0.87	Response % = 100
S.D. of Y = 29.35	Y intercept = 2.45	

Figure 8.4. Corelation of AE and OE Concord Marking

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resemblance between AE and OE in the marking of concord between subject and verbs.

Finally, the similarities we have uncovered here can be further highlighted by comparing this pattern of agreement with that of other varieties of English. Many non-mainstream varieties of English are characterized by high levels of singular agreement with all constructions containing expletive there and usage of don't with both singular and plural subjects. Others include nonstandardness beyond those environments to categories like the verb be with plural subjects, other verbs with plural subjects, and verbs with third person singular subjects. A number of varieties of English which have been studied can be compared with AE and OE on these parameters. Where data are available, we can represent nonstandard usage by +, giving the profiles listed in Table 8.8.

	there	plural +be	plural + other	3rd Sg. -s abs.	3rd Sg. +don't
Appalachian English	+	+	+	_	+
Ozark English	+	+	+	_	+
Northern White Nonstandard	+	+	_	_	+
Puerto Rican English	?	?	?	+	+
Vernacular Black English	+	+	_	+	+
American Indian (Pueblo)	+	+	_	+	+

Table 8.8. Agreement Marking in Non-mainstream Varieties of English

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This characterization depicts the qualitative dimension of similarity and difference in concord for selected non-mainstream varieties of English. Once again, AE and OE are shown to be alike, in contrast with other varieties.

In sum, then, we are drawn to the conclusion that AE and OE operate according to very similar, if not identical, agreement patterns.

Notes to Chapter Eight

[1]In addition to *they* for completive *there*, another correspondence is found to some extent in Appalachian speech, the use of *it* in a construction like *it's a lotta them does that* (10:4). However, these instances were not included in the tabulation since the relationship between subject and verb for agreement purposes does not seem as clear as in the case of *they*. Both *it* and *they* as replacements for expletive *there* are discussed further in Wolfram and Christian (1976:124-126). This usage is not common in OE.

[2]In fact, it is possible that this type of 'nonstandardness' (singular agreement with plural subjects and expletive *there*) is being accepted more and more as standard. Not only are many instances found in other non-mainstream varieties, but many mainstream speakers have been observed using the construction in this way. For instance, some speakers would accept a sentence like *there's only three left* as standard. This would be predicted by the nature of variation in Appalachian speech, since the change in the case of expletive *there* appears to be most advanced.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Our conclusions regarding the study of AE and OE are of three basic types: 1) conclusions regarding the descriptive status of particular structures found in the varieties; 2) conclusions regarding the relationship of AE and OE; and 3) conclusions regarding both the general nature of language change and the specific changes taking place in AE and OE. Although we discuss these separately, there is a sense in which the different sets of conclusions are intrinsically interwoven and build upon each other. Thus, the study of variable phenomena, which is the empirical base of many of our conclusions about the relationship of AE and OE and the nature of change, is necessarily premised upon the qualitative delimitation of permissible structures in which variation can take place. We do not see quantitative studies as a replacement for rigorous descriptive detail, but as a complementary dimension that allows us to examine the dynamic range of linguistic phenomena. Our goal has been to enhance, not replace the careful study of linguistic structures by considering the nature of structured variability in linguistic data.

Descriptive Status

The study of AE and OE has necessarily led us to examine or re-examine the linguistic parameters of some structures which are typically restricted to the kinds of non-mainstream varieties spoken in these communities. Structures such as _a_-prefixing, completive _done_, and personal datives are typically Southern rural features (although not uniquely

so) whereas aspects of verb concord and irregular verbs have a somewhat wider scope, but with certain details that may be typically Southern and rural.

The re-examination of a-prefixing has confirmed syntactic and phonological parameters specified in earlier studies (Wolfram and Christian 1975; Wolfram 1980), but the data have led us to a revision of our earlier conclusions about the synchronic derivation of the form and the semantic/pragmatic meaning. In particular, we have seen evidence to separate the derivation of the prefix from the unstressed initial lexical a-, or at least to see it in a disjunctive relationship. Parenthetically, we may say that part of our formal motivation for positing this disjunction comes from the consideration of structured variability (viz. the fact that lexical a- was highly sensitive to surrounding phonological constraints and a-prefixing was not), an argument for the inclusion of structured variability in the consideration of rule relations (cf. Wolfram 1975). We also revised our earlier position on the semantic/pragmatic function of the a- prefix based on additional data collected in this study. We now maintain that the a- form can be used to indicate pragmatic intensity. In addition, it can be used as a vernacular indicator, marking shifts into older, more rural styles. Our conclusions about the semantic/pragmatic uses of the form are not altogether neat, but they are not dissonant with how we would expect an older, transitional form to function.

In some respects, the use of completive done functions like a-prefixing, in that it may be used as a pragmatic intensifier. Along with this, we suspect that it may also function as a vernacular marker. However, it also may have unique semantic properties that can be

formally motivated on the basis of co-occurrence restrictions. Our examination of the current set of data along with that collected in previous studies supports its designation as a completive. Whereas the semantic and pragmatic characteristics may be separable, its function as a completive marker can be formally motivated with fairly traditional syntactic argumentation. With completive done, the syntactic categorization is much more elusive than its semantic content (This, of course, is quite unlike a-prefixing, where the converse was the case.). With all of the possible candidates for syntactic classification (e.g. auxiliary, adverb), extensive subcategorization conditions would be required in order to define the well-formed structures containing done, and its status is somewhat indeterminate. Notwithstanding these reservations, it seems to have the greatest affinity with a special class of modals, and we cautiously conclude that it be considered a "quasi-modal".

Our conclusion regarding the personal dative shows that it has a strong relationship with for-datives in meaning and somewhat less strong in form. However, there are also some distributional differences, such as its co-occurrence with various verbs, and its prohibition with the pronoun it. Furthermore, its indirect object meaning can be canceled under certain conditions. We suggest, then, that the personal dative is an "indirect-object-like" structure, which carries a benefactive meaning. It may stem from the for-dative, but its usage has generalized to a wider variety of contexts with a concurrent shift in meaning.

The other two major structures examined in detail in this study, irregular verbs and subject-verb concord, have not resulted in descriptive revision of the basic grammatical or semantic analysis of the forms, although there are certainly higher order principles of re-

organization governing these structures that have been revealed. For example, the morphological tendency to modify verbs with two different forms in their preterit and participle functions (e.g. go/went/gone) and not those with a single form (e.g. find/found) suggests an organizing principle that relates to the notion of marking and unmarking in morphological form. The strong tendency for generalization in both irregular verbs and concord also suggests the principled basis of reorganization with respect to dialect differentiation. Our study has thus revealed new descriptive details concerning some important dialect structures and some general principles that may guide the organization of these structures.

The Comparison of AE and OE

The comparison of AE and OE may be considered on several different levels, including the descriptive detail of the structures we have examined, the frequency with which the various structures are used and the distribution of the forms among different groups and individuals within the two communities.

With respect to the descriptive details, we have not uncovered any substantive differences between the two varieties. For structures such as a-prefixing, completive done, and personal dative, the syntactic and semantic parameters are undifferentiated. The range of permissible syntactic and semantic conditions under which the structures may occur is identical. This is not to say that no descriptive differences can be found between the varieties. We must conclude, however, that there are no descriptive differences in the representative structures we have

examined here. The close resemblance in descriptive detail is obviously a noteworthy finding of this study.

The frequency relationships between the varieties also shows fairly close parallels, with some non-significant differences. Structures such as a-prefixing, concord, and irregular verbs show striking parallels both in the range of frequency levels for individual speakers and the overall scores for the communities. In this regard, the overall levels of concord and a-prefixing are exemplary in their similarity. The distribution of irregular verb forms in the six categories of classification is also quite similar for the two communities. A series of implicational relationships among the six categories of irregular forms indicates that the ordering of the categories, with one exception, is the same for both AE and OE (The exception is bare root forms, where OE speakers tend to have a greater degree of nonstandard usage than AE speakers do.). Overall, OE tends to reveal less completive done and personal dative than AE. The difference in the use of done may be related to the fact that it is a form that relates to age differences in the Ozark community, suggesting that it is a generally decreasing in its use in OE. The age differences are not a relevant factor for AE. We note a similar pattern for personal datives. Both constructions appear to be fading from OE but are still an integral part of AE.

Finally, we should say something about the distribution of forms within the community. The major social variables we structured into the study were age and sex. For some structures, the age variable correlates with frequency differences, and for others it does not. For example, significant correlation coefficients were found for age and a-prefixing in both AE and OE, but age does not does not correlate in any direct way

with concord. This distribution is obviously related to the change that some of these structures are undergoing, which we shall have more to say about in the next section.

The variable of sex does not correlate nearly as neatly with the linguistic variables as age. Thus, there is not sex correlation with the use of a-prefixing, concord, or personal datives. Irregular verb use and done tend to be used more by men than women, but the differences are not nearly as dramatic as some of the linguistic variables that correlate with age.

Language Change

As mentioned above, there are a number of items that are undergoing change in AE and OE. The nature, direction, and rate of this change has been a constant theme of this study. The forms most clearly undergoing change from the perspective of the apparent time frame set up in this study are a-prefixing and irregular verbs. In some respects, these two structures show similarities, but they also show some differences. In the case of a-prefixing, we have a form that appears to be dying out, as fewer speakers in the younger generation use the form at significant levels, and many of them do not use it at all. In fact, we do not have a single speaker in our 10-15 year old group of OE subjects who uses the form. On the other hand, all of our OE subjects above the age of 50 uses the form. The case is less extreme for AE speakers, but the pattern points in the same direction. When AE and OE are compared side by side, it appears that the change is taking place more rapidly in OE than in AE. In fact, when the oldest groups of speakers are compared, we find that a-prefixing is used at a higher (but not significantly) level by

the OE group than the comparable AE age group. But when the youngest age groups are compared, the AE group has more significant levels of the form. The loss of the a-prefix is obviously bringing these speakers into greater conformity with the majority of dialects currently spoken in the United States, including the standard varieties. A similar phenomenon is apparently taking place with done and personal datives, except that the change in AE, if occurring at all, is not as advanced as in OE.

The change taking place in irregular verbs seems to be of a slightly different sort. The categories of irregular verb usage that distinguish the older from the younger generations are primarily the different strong verb forms and regularization, categories which imply changes in the other categories in our implicational analysis. Some of these forms obviously involve older forms that are changing (e.g. hearn, retch), but we should note that these changes do not necessarily bring the system into conformity with the standard English pattern, as is the case of the a-prefixing. A number of nonstandard patterns still persist in the younger generation, such as the collapsing of three-form irregulars into two and the use of bare root past forms. These are the patterns that have been found, to a large extent, in a more general range of non-mainstream varieties of English. What we see is a leveling process in which some of the more unique features of these varieties are being brought into conformity with other non-mainstream varieties rather than the standard variety. This seems to be supported by the data on concord as well.

Finally, we should say something about the general implications of this study for the investigation of variation in language change. Our examination of the process of change indicated that some of the variable

dimensions are not as neat as they have been set forth by those who build structured variation into their dynamic models (e.g. Bailey 1973). For one, there may be an important lexical component that has to be recognized along with systematic structural constraints. Constraints such as gonna and there have been isolated as important variable constraints on a-prefixing and concord, respectively, along with other structural categories. Although we might assign them a structural designation in some ways parallel to the more traditional structural categories isolated as constraints on variability, they basically constitute a single item classification. The role of the lexical item as a variable constraint seems to be particularly relevant at the beginning and end points of change (cf. Labov 1981). Recent studies of first language acquisition (cf. Wolfram forthcoming) and second language acquisition (Christian, Wolfram, and Hatfield 1983) have suggested that the role of the lexical component may be of particular significance in the incipient and terminating points of change in general, a kind of unifying principle for quite different kinds of change.

We have also found a pattern of selective form retention across the various environments in which the form originally occurred. The selection process does not suggest a pattern of linear regression in the change as it it goes to completion. In the study of a-prefixing, a form disappearing for a number of speakers, we found some speakers retaining the form at significant levels in a given environment compared to others rather than a proportional reduction. Thus, one speaker may eliminate the form in progressives or general adverbial complements and retain it at significant levels with movement verbs. Another speaker may choose to retain it in the adverb environment and eliminate it with movement verbs

even though the latter may be a favored environment at a previous stage. In some instances, the low overall frequency of a-prefixing is a function of selective environment elimination rather than the gradual reduction in each representative environment with the less frequent environments losing the form first. While constraint acceleration has been admitted in studies of variation and language change (Bailey 1973; Fasold 1973), this kind of selective pattern at the end points has not been discussed.

The comparison of AE and OE provides a rich laboratory for the study of language differences and language change. Many of the conclusions are specific to this situation, but, as in any careful study of a representative language situation, there are inevitable and provocative implications that extend far beyond the individual case. These avenues of inquiry can lead to some exciting new insights about the general nature of language differences and change —insights supported by data from real people undergoing change.

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APPENDIX A

List of Subjects in Analytic Sample

APPALACHIAN ENGLISH SAMPLE

Age Group	Subject No.	Age/Sex	Date of Interview	Occupation of Head of Household
10-15	1	15M	1974	homemaker
	2	13M	1974	truckdriver
	4	13M	1974	coal miner
	6	14M	1974	unemployed
	10	14M	1974	construction worker
	44	14M	1974	unemployed
	46	15M	1974	government employee(ret)
	51	10M	1974	farmer
	61	14F	1974	coal miner
	64	15.	1974	government employee
	65	15F	1974	contractor
	70	13F	1974	farmer
	74	11F	1974	unemployed
	75	10F	1974	construction worker
	77	11F	1974	carpenter
	124	11M	1974	coal miner
	148	13F	1974	unknown
	150	13F	1974	coal miner
	154	13F	1974	machinist
16-30	7	17M	1974	salesman
	17	16M	1974	coal miner (disabled)
	35	22F	1974	furniture mover
	36	27F	1974	truck driver
	66	17F	1974	saw mill worker
	87	24M	1974	maintenance worker
	149	18F	1974	waitress
	151	18F	1974	machinist
	155	17M	1974	coal miner
	156	20F	1974	welder
	158	25M	1974	medical technician
	159	20M	1974	grocery store worker
31-50	28	42F	1974	cook/waitress
	29	33F	1974	waitress
	30	50M	1974	coal miner
	37	45F	1974	saw mill worker
	40	39F	1974	disabled worker
	164	33M	1974	custodian
	202	40M	1982	government employee
	203	45F	1982	machinist
	207	48M	1983	construction worker
	208	44M	1983	mechanic

Age-Group	Subject No.	Age/Sex	Date of Interview	Occupation of Head of Household
51-70	22	60M	1974	unknown
	31	67m	1974	coal miner(retired)
	32	54M	1974	unknown
	146	52M	1974	coil winder
	152	64F	1974	unknown
	157	52F	1974	unknown
	160	56F	1974	railroad worker
	204	65M	1982	unknown
	206	60F	1983	homemaker
	210	56F	1983	homemaker
	213	59M	1983	forest ranger
70+	83	93F	1974	unknown
	85	78F	1974	unknown
	153	83F	1974	unknown
	201	85M	1982	unknown
	205	81F	1983	homemaker
	209	80F	1983	homemaker
	211	77M	1983	unknown
	212	90M	1983	coal miner (retired)
	214	90M	1983	barber (retired)
	215	91M	1983	railroad worker (retir

OZARK ENGLISH SAMPLE

Age Group	Subject No.	Age/Sex	Date of Interview	Occupation of Head of Household
10-15	9	14F	1982	construction worker
	11	12M	1982	teacher's aid
	12	12F	1982	logger (disabled)
	13	15F	1982	unemployed
	16	14M	1982	factory worker
	17	15M	1982	factory worker
	18	12F	1982	house painter
	19	13F	1982	sawmill worker (unemployed)
16-30	8	17M	1982	university worker
	10	17M	1982	logger
	14	17F	1982	machinist
	15	16F	1982	disabiled worker
	21	17F	1982	farmer
	22	25M	1982	logger/sawmill worker
	27	28F	1982	painting contractor
	38	25F	1983	sawmill worker
	42	30F	1983	farmer
	46	22M	1983	restaurant worker
31-50	23	32M	1982	farmer
	34	34F	1982	house painter (disabled)
	35a	36M	1982	logger (disabled)
	35b	35F	1982	postmaster
	36	48M	1983	farmer
	39	36F	1983	unknown
	43	34F	1983	farmer
51-70	25	59M	1982	construction worker
	26	55F	1982	postmaster(retired)
	29	69M	1982	farmer
	30	70F	1982	unknown
	33	55M	1982	sawmill owner
	41a	62M	1983	farmer
	41b	59F	1983	farmer
70+	1a	77M	1978	farmer
	1b	91F	1978	farmer
	5	77M	1978	farmer
	28	71F	1982	unknown
	32a	78F	1982	unknown
	32b	91M	1982	unknown
	40a	80M	1983	unknown
	40b	84F	1983	unknown

INTERVIEW EXCERPT #1
APPALACHIAN SAMPLE

Speaker #3C : 50 year old male

Interview date: October 6, 1974

F = Fieldworker
S = Subject

F: When is the best time to start planting your garden?

S: Well, the best, to really get, to make your garden do good, the old timers has always said that, the best way, you plow, say plow your garden sometime in March, February or March, and let it freeze again. And then spring of the year'll come again and say in April, about April, then you can run over it and disk it up a little bit and begin to get it ready so it's beat up real good. Well, by the tenth of May then you should be, around here we always have got stuff done planted by the tenth of May because everybody is looking for that frost. The tenth of May you always have a frost. I mean just practically every year. Well, after the tenth of May, then you can bet on that you don't have to have any more frosts.

F: That's the last cold spell, isn't it?

S: Last cold spell is about the tenth of May and if you plant, if you go ahead and plant your stuff too early, it lays in the ground and it won't come up half as quick as it does when the soil is right. Then it's time to plant.

F: Do you ever hear of people planting according to the signs?

S: Oh yeah.

F: Do you use this?

S: No, I don't. I never have used it and of course I don't hardly, I don't believe in signs too much, but a lot of old timers go for the signs and they do, they raise real nice good crops. And I've always, of course I never have went for the signs and I've always raised good gardens.

F: Do, are you familiar with any of these signs?

S: No... let's see.

F: Or old sayings.

S: Well, if they, they claim if you planted in the, when the signs is in the head, I don't know, your potatoes will...In the light of the moon, if you plant in the light of the moon, these old timers says, that your taters, potatoes will come to the top of the ground. And if you plant in the dark of the moon, is the best time they claim to plant potatoes.

F: Do you know any more old sayings about your garden, things you should do?

S: Well, there's one thing you've got to do if you raise a good garden. You've got to work it, and that means you've got to get in it and keep the weeds chopped out of it, keep the weeds cut out, dig 'em out, work 'em out with your hoe or tiller or whatever you might have to work it with, and at least you've got to work it three times, two or three times, and after your crop gets started, your corn or whatever it is that you've work-, well, when it gets up pretty good size and then hit'll choke the weeds down. It'll keep the weeds out.

F: What season of the year do you like best? Do you have a favorite season?

S: Well, I, they's two, spring and fall.

F: OK, why? Why do you like these two?

S: Well, you go through the winter, things is pretty, you know, it's rough. Well, the snow, you're trying to go to work, and you get cold, and then, first thing you know though, you're looking forward to seeing spring. First thing you know, the birds starts singing, and they coming back. They start singing and the trees starts putting out, Well you look and you say, you look and you say, well, God is real, because you know that from all His wonderful works, because man can't do that. And you know that, when you see this, all this a-happening, you know that it's, there has to be a God to do this.

F: What about the fall? How come you like the fall? So you can go hunting?

S: Well, yeah. You see all the leaves then when fall comes just about to say now. You've had a big frost. Well, your leaves'll never start turning, really getting dark and getting beautiful, till you have a frost. You have a real heavy frost, say just like snow, just like we've had already. Well, when that happens, then your leaves will start turning. There's nothing to keep 'em from turning, I mean, they'll turn. Then they begin to get beautiful and from now on in, then, for the next thirty days, the woods is, it gets beautiful, every time you look out you see something different in trees and it gets more beautiful every time you see it. Now, then, when you have a rain, part of the leaves'll come off, part of 'em'll stay

S: and that makes it more beautiful and I notice , well, going down 460 here to Narrows, that's one of the beautifulest piece of land or road through that section that I've saw. Oh, I just love traveling through there now.

F: Have you been out in the woods yet?

S: Oh yeah.

F: You have? I guess it is...

S: The leaves, some's a-falling and you can look around, oh, it's just beautiful. And then, another thing, reason I like fall, well hunting season is coming close, where you can go, say, just like Saturday squirrel season coming, turkey season. Well, if you want to go say your boys is, my boys is...(telephone interruption)

F: Can you remember a real bad winter?

S: Well, back before the World War II, we used to have some rough winters 'round here, that's been well back in forty, back in forty-two, the snow would get knee deep. The snow would get knee deep and man, we'd have a time getting to work or wherever we was going, we'd have a real bad time, you know, getting there and everything, and, I mean, it was really rough.

F: Well, do you ever remember being stuck in the snow?

S: Well, back in them days, back in them days, we'd always take, well, you had neighbors and people was willing to come to help you if you got stuck. You didn't have to worry about help because if you got stuck, you would set there, say just for a few minutes and there'd be some of your buddies come by or something. And they was always, they wasn't in too big a hurry to stop, to help you. They was more than willing to help you. And seem like now if your best friend goes by now, if you're not careful, he'll turn his head to keep from seeing you and keep riding on down the road and then maybe you'll see him in a day or two later and you'll say something to him and he'll say why, I didn't see you.

F: Some man was out here the other day, he ran out of gas about four o'clock and he was out here at six-thirty when Chet got up, no one would pick him up, and it was awful. It was one of the real cold nights we had had. People just...

S: Well, people's not, well, in other words, people's not concerned about the other person, now, seems like. I don't know what's happened.

F: Do you think some people are afraid to pick up hitch hikers, you heard so much about them, you know, if you pick up strange people they might kill you.

S: Well, I don't know if it's that or it's people is, they's too much for people to do, seem like. They're going somewhere, don't even know where they going. They in a hurry, the people is in a real big hurry, seem like, to go somewhere, but when they get there, they, then I don't know what really, they always in a hurry but seem like can't get nothing done. And it's like I was telling Ethel, she gets ready to go to work every morning, she, right on, just as hard as she can go. Leave right at the minute, gotta run right at it, well, I...That's just the way life is now I guess. And all that, so I just really don't know what on that.

F: But like you said, I don't think people are willing to help other people anymore, as willing as they used to be. They'd rather not have to fool with 'em, don't you think?

S: 'At's right. Well, you can have a next door neighbor and he's not interested enough. Back, fifteen or twenty year ago, a neighbor could start building a house, he's start building that house, well, the first thing you know, without even asking anyone to help, the first thing you know, within one day, people all around would be coming pitching in to help, to offer to help him do this work. If he got sick or knocked out from work or something, the people could come for, well, they'd just walk for miles, to come if it was time of year, say in the fall of the year for him to cut his corn or just whatever he might have to do in the fall of the year. Rather than seeing him lose his crop, why they would sacrifice and come right there to help him do all this kind of work and all that. And now, just seems like in this day and time, that the people if they catch their brother in a hard spot, seem like they enjoy it, to see him lose what he has got.

F: I don't know what's made people so hard. Do you remember any floods, any bad floods around here?

S: Well, no, not too much, because, of course, oh, maybe in the fall of the year now, we have a few floods, say well not really floods, the rivers gets up when we start having a lotta rain and these people live in the lowlands say like down big sandy, you know, places like that, of course, the water gets pretty high and they gotta move out a lotta times. But, really, there's not much, you know, floods around this section.

F: OK. When you were a child, did your parents have special things they did for you when you were sick or did you go to the doctor every time you got sick? Do you know any old remedies?

S: Back then, a dollar was a dollar. And the only time you went to the doctor is if, when you went to the doctor, you was sick. You didn't go to the doctor for just a headache like now. Lotta people now if they've got just a little headache, they ready to go to the doctor. Well, back then, if, well, let's say you had a little headache or something, or maybe a bone a-hurting, or your leg a-hurting, mother would get up some kind of like sassafrac tea.

F: Did she make that herself?

C: Oh yeah. And we used to go out and dig the roots and then mother would boil it and get the juice off it, that be sassafrac tea.

F: Was there any, you just boiled it, that's all, and then you drank it.

S: You'd boil it and you drank it. That's what we called sassafrac tea.

F: Did that help you?

S: Oh well, it might nota helped you but you thought it did anyway as a kid in, in that way.

INTERVIEW EXCERPT #2
OZARK SAMPLE

Speaker #23 : 32 year old male

Interview date: October 25, 1982

F = Fieldworker
S = Subject

F: The girls tell me you were on the school board here.

S: Yeah.

F: I would imagine you get to spend a lot of time up there too.

S: Yeah, it seems like you know if a person is interested in people and interested in his community you know and kind of proud of what you are you know you might not be much but you can always find ways to expend what little excess energy you might give by fixing fence or what have you. I decided that well I don't know what the qualifications are for serving on the school board, I reckon it's just a desire you know to give a part of yourself for the benefit of the kids. I believe in public education. My Dad couldn't read or write, and I guess he'd've wailed the tar out of me if I hadn't've went on to school, and I graduated from the little old school. When I was in the Army, I was told, I graduated from one of the biggest classes in Oark, had fourteen graduates, seven boys and seven girls.

F: When you graduated from Oark?

S: Yeah, and I got in a, well of course I got drafted the old double-oh-six, you know, and I decided I'd go ahead, I'd rather be something beside just pack a gun, you know. I enlisted, and got a pretty good school. I went to school for forty weeks, pretty competitive, pretty tough school, in the service.

F: What were you in?

S: I was a crypto repairman. They _____ security systems, and lot of the old boys I was in school with was, you know, a college graduates and engineering degrees and things like that. I had a little trouble with... I didn't know I had an accent until I went in the Army.

F: It didn't take them long to figure that one out did it?

S: No, it seemed like everybody knowed where I was from and I couldn't ever figure out where anybody else was from. It was kind of interesting.

S: You know, working with them, but anyhow what I was leading there on was the education. You know it done me good. What little dab I got. I don't think I could have, well I know I wouldn't have been allowed the opportunity to been in the school that I was if I hadn't've had just even just a high school degree, a diploma and a, so you know there's a lot of kids up in here that don't appreciate the benefits of free and just the ability to learn and it be paid for. They don't understand the cost that's involved or the sacrifices that people have to make. Well that's kind of the basis of what got me involved in the school board. I reckon we've had the same problems as about any school board you know whether it'd be fussing parents or fighting teachers. So you know knocked over a cup of coffee or two, you know just kept a-jabbering. And now out of eight I got the board and I reckon I had a knack for blowing and going or something, and they put me in the, I served president of the board for pretty near three years. I've been on the Board four years in March, and got involved in that, and of course now I'm campaigning for Justice of the Peace, here in I don't know.

F: You're into politics?

S: Getting deep into politics at a local level. I don't know it's a...

F: Was your Dad in politics? Did you have any relatives in politics?

S: Oh, I got a distant relative, C.W. was of course state legislator, in the state legislature. But of course I grew up around him but at the time he wasn't in politics, you know, he was just preaching there in the church. I was in the service I guess when he ran. I don't remember just when it was he ran for state legislature. He's not he wasn't very close kin folk, but I guess that'd be as close as you can say. I reckon I was the first one of my immediate family anyhow that graduated from high school. As far as my parents, aunt and uncles, none of them's involved in politics.

F: Well if you run for the Justice of the Peace that's with the _____. Are you running against someone from up in this area?

S: No, I'm kinda running a maverick race. See, there's three townships up here that's real sparsely populated and there's five townships in this district. And the two southern townships are closer to town and they're heavily populated and one of the, the guy that I beat in Democratic primary, was a, was from that area. Of course now I've got an opponent in the General Election.

F: A republican? How does it look?

S: Well, pretty favorable. I'm confident.

F: Is is the same way as most of Arkansas area here where if you win the Democratic...

S: Well, see..

F: Primary you're pretty well in?

S: Well, I'd venture to say that yeah, it's that way to a certain extent. Of course, you know C.W. he was on the Republican side and of course he went to the state legislature from this county. They voted for him big every time. So I think that really and truly and honestly that basically most people in this area are very independent, and they still vote Democratic from Reconstruction Days and you know my great grandpas was, can remember the bad times you know and then another thing is you know where they want to or not a lot of people remember the Hoover days you know and the Hoover Hogs and bad times. The Ozark Mountains were probably hit the hardest of any particular segment of society. The population of the time you know they was hard, no jobs and no money for coal oil and no seed taters, had to kill their last seed rooster you know to eat so it's tough. And they's still a lot of old fashion feelings there that on the same sentiment, Mr. Roosevelt come along, you know, with the new deal and the CC camps and the WPA and all of his systems and, oh, a lot of people ain't for that kind of thing. They're just diggers and grubbers. So really we probably have more in a way backup in the woods, back up here in the Hills you got more people that trace their political lineage farther back and identify, than you do in a lot of other places. You get into towns and people, people in towns they just well they don't know each other as well and they don't remember their background as well and.... Now its kind of funny, I've had because of my name and because of C.W. being affiliated with the Republican Party, I've had some identity complex problems you know and yet basically my family, you know at least my Dad probably was a little bit more leaning towards the Democrat side. When he went to vote you know he participated and he didn't participate, it kind of depended on the man you know, whether he was interested or not interested and most people up in here are more interested in local, politics, politics then they are in...State generates quite a bit of controversy, you know, state level. Probably nothing gets 'em wound up any more though than just like the country judge's race or the sheriff's race or something along that line. They get pretty involved.

F: How are you campaigning?

S: Well in the primary I wore the knuckles off my hands knocking on the doors. You know shook all the leaves out of the bushes you know a-shaking them. Of course newspapers, I advertised in the local newspaper in the county and that's in this election you know. In the General Election, I've kind of, I've kind of changed up a little bit. I've not knocked as many doors. Just kind of salted the area, you know, just go in and hit a few more prominent or more people that stir a little more. You know there's always people that's either, they June bug around, you know they are involved, or brush hogging or disking, or they're selling honey, doing something. There are kind of involved with the community. Stopping at the little country stores, setting around and

S: a-talking and a-jabbering and so on and listening more than anything, just listening to what people got to say because you know you learn more listening than you can running your mouth normally. That's kind of a minimum pretty well of the way I went about it this time.. I felt that I've established an you know an identity up in the community, positive or negative. Besides you don't know you know. Depends on where you got a patch of flopping on your overhauls, you know when you showed up I guess. Now people up here, you can't you know I'm just throwing a pun there about overalls. I wear a pair of them every once in a while but you, you can't, you can get too slick up here, too much citified. There's a time and a place for a tie and a coat, you know, polishing shoes and so on, but there's also a time and a place to be to kind of be a little bit more earthy, I guess to be countrified.

F: Comfortable?

S: Yep, well any time, you know, if you got a man that's up there and he started back in 1930 or '25 or whenever, like my grandpaw a-plowing a team of mules down in the river bottom, black land you know planting cotton, you know and then moved into the log woods and split stag boats all of his life and cut pulp wood, you know, he's probably got three pair of britches or four, one of them's reserved for special occasions, so you know if you run around, or even be just too dyked up thats all there is to it.

F: With your time on the school board you know it's a pretty small, close group around here from what I saw. What are some of the problems that you've run into that are going to be a bit interesting.

S: Well, I don't know. Of course, you know it was a change for me you know to be involved in a public lawmaking body a group of men that you know that you had to you had to negotiate. You learned that just what you wanted wadn't exactly what went, or what you could see maybe you couldn't convince somebody else to see. Maybe all your brilliance might be bafflement to them. So, it took a little readjusting you know to come to grasp with the fact that you know you're just one. No matter where you stand or what you are or how many people behind you, or if you got a hundred percent of the vote, when you set down to the board, you're just one member and one vote. And, so what it comes to is learning to live with that, learn to adjust and be flexible enough you know to have change. Bennie you want me to get out of your way?

INVENTORY OF STRUCTURES

In the following sections, we shall briefly inventory some of the major structures we have found in AE and OE and make observations concerning the use of the structures in these varieties. The observations derive from our careful examination of the entire selection of tape samples, but do not typically include frequency tabulations, as do some of the structures we discussed in the major chapters of the report. Furthermore, they are selective, and somewhat subject to our biases as we listened carefully to each tape recording and made notes on the structures found in each interview in relation to traditionally-cited diagnostic dialect features. A comprehensive study would take each of these structures and conduct analyses akin to those reported in the substantive chapters of the report. A more complete study certainly would consider other structures that were not included in our notes. Despite these limitations, an inventory of this type might be helpful to those who have questions concerning the range of structures found in AE and OE. And these observations may serve as a preliminary for researchers who want to conduct more extensive analyses on aspects of the comparison of AE and OE.

Our general format of presentation will be to make a very brief, general comment on the nature of the rule governing the structure, cite several illustrative examples of the form in the varieties, and make a comment on the comparison of the form in AE and OE. Our overview is limited to the phonological and grammatical structures generally considered to be among the dialectally diagnostic items in American English, although many of the more common vowel differences are not considered here. For convenience, traditional orthographic representation is used.

Consonants

Final Cluster Reduction

AE and OE do not participate in the rule which reduces clusters ending in a stop and sharing a voicing specification (e.g. wild --> wil' ; find > fin') in any significant way. Clusters are generally intact unless followed by a consonant (e.g. wil' cat ; pick' corn), as in most standard varieties of English.

Epenthesis Following Clusters

The long form of the regular third person singular present tense, the plural, and possessive /Iz/ is occassionally used following clusters involving s + stop. We have not found this pattern with possessives although we might predict it for these forms as well (e.g. the ghostes house).

AE

...it's ghostes (9:(994)
...across the deskes (1:28)

OE

...till it frostes (40B:79)
...it lastes for three days (22:16,
...contestes

The form is relatively infrequent in both varieties, but more common with plurals in AE than on the other forms.

Intrusive t

A small set of items typically ending in s (and sometimes f) may retain the earlier version with t, resulting in a cluster.

AE

...oncet a day (69:(267)
...feed him twicet a day (37:7)
...there's a big clifft (34:(450)
...I got them two acrosst (22:10)

OE

...oncet I lay down (22:11)
...twicet as high (22:13)
...oncet a month (28:17)

The list of items retaining the t appears to be more extensive in AE than in OE, with oncet and twicet being the most persistent forms to retain the t.

Fricative Stopping

Preceding nasals, voiced fricatives may be stopped. This is particularly prevelant with z, but found to some extent with [ð] and v as well.

AE

They wadn't a dang one of them...(31:12)
...it doedn't take but about ...(40:19)
...dangerous with that, idn't he?(2:2)

OE

They wadn't a-raisin' nothin' (1B:20)
...when it wadn't but one truck in Oark (26:18)

Intial th and dh

There are two major processes that affect the initial voiceless (e.g. think, thought) and voiced (e.g. the, though) interdental fricatives. The stopping of fricatives (e.g. they -> dey) is part of the general nonstandard parttern shared with most non-mainstream varieties of English. Neither AE nor OE is particularly unique in its participation in this general process. The other process involves the loss of the initial fricatives. Although most English varieties partcipate in this process to some extent (typically unstressed pronouns such as I like 'em), the classes of items affected by this process (demonstratives, expletives) and phonological contexts for its operation are much more extensive in AE and OE. Particularly noteworthy is its occurrence with more stressed demonstratives and expletives in sentence intitial position, such as 'ere's 'at high priced one (AE 84:(37) and 'at was Daddy's mother (AE 85:4).

Medial and Final th and dh

With occasional exceptions in AE, these varieties have not been found to participate in the th/f neutralization pattern that results in forms such as baf for bath and afletic for athletic in other non-mainstream varieties of English.

Initial w Reduction

In unstressed positions within the sentence, the initial w of items such as was and one may be deleted. This appears to be a generalization of a more restricted process affecting most English varieties (e.g. will --> 'll).

AE

I guess they knew what they'z a-sayin'(24:(382)
... whupped me up a good 'un (36:11)

OE

they'z there before George Rudy was (32:2)
...a little biddy 'un (28:16)

This process is fairly pervasive in both varieties, particularly among older speakers. For younger speakers, it is more common with the form was than one.

Initial Unsressed Syllables

The general process of deleting initial unstressed syllables in informal speech styles of standard English (e.g. because --> 'cause , around --> 'round) is extended in both varieties. However, the extension affects word

in both AE and OE. However, the extension applies to the forms affected and word classes rather than the frequency levels. In fact, some of the older speakers have relatively high frequency levels of retention, and a kind of a-expansion (see a-prefixing and expansive a-)

AE

He should be 'llowed to hear it (22:2)
It's 'tween each individual (28:28)
I don't 'member (36:7)
It just has 'taters in it (47:5)

OE

I 'member (36:9)
no seed, 'taters (23:13)
'tween the two of 'em

H Retention

The retention of h on the pronoun it and the auxiliary ain't is particulalry prominent in more stressed syllables in the sentence. It is lexically restricted but quite prominent among some older speakers.

AE

I said I hain't a-gonna do it (83:23)
When the winter set in, hit set it (22:10)

OE

Hit was bigger (1A:18)
Hit does (26:3)

The occurrence of this feature is much more sporadic in the younger generations, but is being maintained to some extent.

The Retroflex r

There are several different patterns of r-lessnes, including general post-vocalic r-lessness (e.g. car --> ca'), restricted post-vocalic r-lessness (intra-word intervocalic as in carry --> ca'y), and limited evironments for post-consonantal r-lessness (e.g.following th and preceding a round vowel (e.g. throw --> th'ow). General post-vocalic r-lessness is not noteworthy in these varieties but the special cases of post-consonantal r absence are quite prevelant. Occasional cases of restricted post-vocalic r-lessness are found for some speakers, but they are lexically restricted.

AE

Post-Consonantal: th'u (5:(441); th'ow (5:(453)
Intervocalic: ca'y (32:(550); du'inq (32:(600)

OE

Post-consonantal: th'owed (5:6); tho'wa (35B:2)
Intervocalic: du'inq (5:31); ca'ied (40A:53)
Unstressed Syllables: sec'etary (26:2); wond'inq (27:8)

The restricted kinds of r-lessness are quite stable, however, the younger generations may be moving toward more widespread general post-vocalic r-lessness.

l

Post-vocalic l may function analogous to r in its patterns of vocalization and loss, but there are some aspects that differentiate it. One pattern found in both AE and OE is the loss of l preceding labial consonants. This affects items such as wolf (woof (OE 4:1)) and help (hep (OE 26:1). While both OE and AE reveal this pattern to some extent, it does not seem to be as extensive as it is in other southern-based varieties of English. Other patterns of Southern l (e.g the use of a "light" l before front vowels in non-initial position such as the second l of Lilly) are also not as extensive in either AE or OE.

Other Consonants

There are also other patterns found in the two varieties that affect limited sets of items or single items. For example, both varieties have dissimilation, with chimley for chimney. On the other hand, the retention of the older form of ask (aks) is not found to any sigificant extent in either variety. These cases have to be considered on an item-by-item basis.

Vowels

There are actually many different vowel patterns that could be considered, but we will compare for this inventory only those instances that were included in our earlier study as potentially unique to southern-based highland varieties of English.

Unstressed ow

The common pattern has an intrusive r in those items with an underlying final ow (and, in some instances the

schwa [ə] in final unstressed syllable position.

AE

holler (16:15); tobaccer (30:15); yeller (34:(250); potaters (30:7); winders (37:(100)

OE

taters (22:6); waller (36:2); followed (41A:22) tomaters (40B:91); tobaccer (46:9)

This feature is reasonably stable in both varieties, but somehat more pervasive in AE.

Final Schwa Raising

Final unstressed schwas may be raised to a high front vowel when the underlying schwa is part of a single lexical item.

AE

soda -->sody (85:1); Santa --> Santy (153:27)
extra --> extry (40:(429); Virginia --> Virginny (153:27)

OE

soda --> sody (28:16); okra --> okry (11:10)
Santa --> Santy (32:11); extra --> extry (34:3)

ire Collapsing

The sequence of ire, which is realized by a two-syllable sequence in many current English varieties, including a diphthong ay, is collapsed into a one syllable unit without the diphthong.

AE

fire --fa'r (18:68); iron --> a'rn (85:(550)
sirens--> sa'rns (150:(203)

OE

fa'r (5:13); a'rn (1A:9); hire --> ha'r (23:4)
buyers --> ba'rs (1A:20); retired --> reta'rd (33:12)

This feature is reasonably stable in both AE and OE and is not particularly diagnostic within the regions.

ear Lowering

Before r in stressed syllable position, a mid vowel may be lowered so that items such as bear, there, and where may be produced more like (but not identical to) bar thar, and whar, respectively. This feature is found only among the older speakers in both AE and OE, and is better represented in AE than OE.

Glide Reduction

Vowel glides in the diphthongs of items such as time, buy, fine, and light may be eliminated, so that they come into conformity with the more general southern monophthongization. However, this characteristic is not as common in either AE or OE as it is in other southern-based varieties. Younger speakers in both communities seem to be moving closer to the general Southern pattern.

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES

The Verb Phrase

Many aspects of the distinctive characteristics of AE and OE concern the verb phrase, including different kinds of verb uses, the auxiliary, and other modifying elements within the verb phrase.

A- Prefixed -ing Participles

This a- prefix on -ing participles is syntactically restricted to adverbial complements and progressives, and cannot occur on gerunds and gerundives. It functions as a preposition, and therefore cannot occur with true prepositions. Phonologically, it cannot occur preceding unstressed syllables and before forms beginning with a vowel. It may have a stylistic intensifying function, and may show stylistic switching for some speakers.

AE

> He was just kept a-beggin' and a-cryin' and a-wantin' to come out (83:18)
> I had twelve children and I got two dead and ten a-livin (153:3)
> You just look at him and he starts a-bustin' out laughing at you (80:(683)

OE

> They wasn't a-raisin' nothin' (1A:20)
> It's a dollar a-layin' there if you don't get it (36:14)
> He thought he had a better circumstance, a-comin' here (23:8)

A-prefixing is found more extensively among the older generations than the younger, and appears to be dying out more rapidly in OE than AE.(see expansive a-)

Irregular Verbs

There are six categories of irregular verb patterns that differentiate the usage of these forms from their use in standard varieties of English. These are: 1) preterit as participle 2) participle as preterit 3) bare root as preterit 4) regularization 5) different irregular form 6) ambiguous form with respect to categories (2) and (3). The patterns of irregular usage tend to stand in an implicational relationship, with different irregular forms and regularizations the most extreme departures from the standard English pattern. Examples are set up by categories.

AE

Category	
1	Her home had went, I guess, 50 yards ...(37:8)
	And they hadn't never saw a ghost before (77:4)
2	I told her I done it (1:14)
	If you seen a woman's knee, you had done seen something (31:15)
3	Best I can remember, they give us periogoric then (160:15)
	So she eat the baby bear food and it was real good (6:23)
4	We throwed them a birthday party (36:3)
	I've heared tell of some (36:6)
5	He finally retch in there (47:14)
	They drug him out of there (44:21)
6	I run into this barbed wire fence (207:5)
	I come back and took care of him (214:18)

OE

1	I had went down there off the boat (22:12)
	He may have took the horse and wagon (39:21)
2	The same fire that done your cooking (40A:42)
	He seen something off this bluff (17:6)
3	Jobs begin to open up, they begin to leave out (41A:15)
	Some of the cattle my Dad give a hundred and fifty dollars for sold for five dollars a head (33:4)
4	Seem like everybody knowed where I was from (23:10)
	She was already growed up (15:9)
5	She just retch up on the fireboard (5:4)
	She was drug to death by a horse and wagon (10:21)
6	He come here during the Civil War (42:9)
	It run wild with my grandpa's plowhorse (9:17)

Both AE and OE have fairly extensive use of nonstandard irregular verb forms. Younger generations, however, tend to be losing categories 4 and 5, in conformity with more general non-mainstream dialect usage. OE is leading the way in this regard.

Completive done

Completive done may function as an aspectual marker of a completed action or event. It may also function as a kind of intensifier in this capacity. Syntactically, it is somewhat indeterminate, although it seems to function most like a quasi-model.

AE

... the one that was in there had done rotted (35:21)
We thought he was done gone (51:11)
If she had, she woulda done left me a long time ago (30:29)

OE

They done run seven days a week (33:7)
Them old have gentle ones has all done disappeared (41A:51
I said, "Well, they're done sold, Ray" (40:36)

Double Modals

Double modals involve constructions of modal clustering such as might could, useta could, or might should. This typically southern structure is cccassionally found in AE and OE, but the more widespread pattern with useta is more frequent.

AE

...he musta didn't hear me (17:16)
I might could make one up (74:8)
People didn't useta have frigidaires (85:25)

OE

I useta didn't fall and hurt myself (28:9)
...the signs people useta did (35:17)

The typical southern double modals (e.g. might could) is a vestigial form in OE at best, and only marginal at this point in AE. The more general modal is much more characteristic of these varieties.

Special Modals

The use of liketa and (su)poseta as a special verb modifier mark special kinds of speaker perceptions that relate to significant events that were on the verge of happening. Liketa is counterfactual, and the proposition usually carries an exaggerated connotation. (Su)poseta seems to have weaker pragmatic assumptions about the the event on the part of the speaker using the form, and may be used in a more literal sense akin to the standard correspondence of supposed to have.

AE

And I knew what I'd done and boy it liketa scared me to death (152:28)
Oh, he liketa had a fit (146:8)
And so they poseta met on one side of the ridge (156:19)

OE

...they liketa killed her (28:2)
She said it liketa scared her to death (38:20)
They supposeta been wasn't afraid of nothing (10:20)

Liketa is quite stable, but seems to show some age-grading (i.e. younger speakers will use it more as they become older). (Su)poseta is less common in OE than in AE. The pragmatic reading of exaggeration is not as strong in OE.

Verb Subclasses

There are a number of different types of verb class patterns that differentiate these varieties from standard varieties of English. Among some of the major shifts in verb subclasses are 1) shifts in transitivity 2) derived verb forms 3) complementizing formation 4) verb plus particle constructions 5) semantic territory, and 6) lexical forms. These are illustrated for AE and OE below by category although the categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

AE

Category

1 Like if we beat, they cause trouble (150:4)
She learnt me how to teach (85:21)

2 Our dog treed one under the chicken house (40:40)
...they just doctored it themselves the way they thought it sposeta to been doctored (160:13)

3 just about everything that needs done (122:(353)
They all made him out the liar (83:15)
They started to messing around

4 I got blessed out (28:17)
They sometime happen in at the same time (31:3)

5 Everybody sets where they want (46:15)
My kids taken the chicken pox (40:15)

6 I'll get fussed at (126:(86)
It was just fixin' to bite me (160:25)

OE

1 I think they [i.e. teachers] learn 'em [i.e. students] better (38:10)
She griped me about it (12:12)
2 It just smalled up (36:10)
It camoflouged in the leaves (17:17)
They wagon 'em out of here
3 People make him out a liar (25:7)
They commenced to moving out about (1A:20)
4 He said he prayed up all night last week (28:9)
I'd stayed on out of the way (28:14)
5 I'd set down in steeples (28:25)
...and take pneumonia (5B:18)
6 I'm fixin' to get married (46:3)
I ain't got flapped up rich at it (23:5)

There are many similarities between AE and OE in the categories, but OE appears to be more expansive in its flexibility with dervived verb forms.

Subject-Verb Concord

There are a number of different categories of verbs that show nonstandard tense agreement marking patterns. These include 1) present tense be, 2) past tense be, 3) have, and 4) and other verbs. The form of the subject affects the incidence of nonstandard marking, with expletives (e.g. There was a lotta rocks), conjoined noun phrases (e.g. me and my sister gets in a fight) and collective noun phrases (e.g. Most of 'em talks about the same way) generally favoring singular forms. The form don't and seem (5) are special cases in which singular forms are used with plurals.

AE

Category
1 I don't think people's hard on their children (205:13)
My eyes is not as good (32:5)
2 There was too many things that was different (158:16)
They was more than willing to help you (30:11)
3 Her nerves has been all tore up (36:38)
My children hasn't ever had it (28:30)
4 Some people likes them better (164:19)
The older ones wants to talk (48:6)
5 Well, a whipping don't do no good (35:8)
Seem like they just don't care about one another (22:18)

OE

1 Most of the kids up there is younger than I am (8:6)
People's calling me, wanting me to take somebody to the doctor (26:12)
2 Frank's dad and his daddy was brothers (16:7)
...to see if there was any inhabitants (16:2)
3 Smaller schools has got smaller groups in classes (38:16)
My mother and daddy's talked about it (34:19)
4 My two brothers lives right around the us (15:13)
Me and him takes care of it (416:45)
5 My mom don't like me to chew (8:11)
It don't seem to bother you (22:8)

AE and OE are virtually identical in their subject-verb agreement patterns, and no apparent change is taking place in the pattern. The pattern for seem is more common in AE than in OE.

Adverbs

There are a number of different patterns which distinguish the adverbs of AE and OE. Mostly, these involve the placement, the form, and use of different adverbs.

Adverb Placement

Adverbial phrases of time, particularly related to frequency, may be moved into the verb phrase. There are also instances in which a subclass of adverbs can be moved from a position within the verb phrase. The form ever combined with pronouns such as what and how may change positions.

AE

We's all the time talking (10:20)
That's the biggest rattlersnake ever I seen (157:27)
...so everwhat you planted (22:9)
Say five or six of us boys, everhow many ...lived close to us (30:1)

OE

We used to watch all the time Little House (9:5)
...they just burned the wood everwhich stitch (1:18)

The position changes of adverbs appears to be less prevelant in OE than in AE.

Comparatives and Superlatives

Irregular comparative and superlative forms may be regularized and, in some cases, apply pleonastically.

AE

...the baddest dream (5:(986)
...the awfulest stuff (31:(113)
...more stricter than my father (37:(53)
...most stupidest thing (64:(267)

OE

...some of the beautifullest horses (28:5)
...give to the man that's abler bodied (40A:66)

Intensifying Adverbs

There is a set of adverbs, principally right and plumb, that intensify particular attributes or activities. Right intensifies in terms of degree and plumb in terms of totality, analogous to the standard English uses of 'very' and 'completely'. Other functional intensifiers in the broader set include big ole and little ole, right smart, and so forth.

AE

It was right amusing (22:14)
That was plumb foolish (34:(100)
He shot him plumb through like this (22:24)
That was just a little ole harmless chicken (13:(785)

OE

It was right real close (23:8)
It was a right smart little town (1:22)
...and he went plumb from here to Oklahoma (28:2)
It goes plumb into the turnip and ruins them 5:1)
...big ole male cow (36:12)

In OE plumb may be used with a less intensive pragmatic reading (i.e. more like the literal uses of 'completely'). Right does not seem to be used as frequently in OE.

Positive Anymore

AE and OE are among those varieties which can use the form with positive propositions, with a meaning something

like "nowadays". It can occur in pre-verbal as well as post-verbal position.

AE

She's more northern than she is southern anymore (149:(1094)
Even in small towns anymore its getting like that (155:(199)
Anymore, all the guys you get ahold of just don't think that way (66:(63)

OE

I'm a coward anymore (206:20)
Anymore, I'd rather read the book than watch the show (27:14)

Adverbial but

The form but can be used as a limiting phrasal adverb corresponding to the forms "only" and "merely" in other varieties of English. Typically, it occurs with negative sentences.

AE

He ain't but thirteen (121:(96)
He didn't attend but one of them (32:(100)

OE

There wasn't but one died (5:21)
We didn't stay over there but about a year (28:14)

Lexical Items

There are a number of other differences related to the kinds of lexical items found in OE and AE rather than the general syntactic or morphological changes. These are, of course, considered on an item-by-item basis so that the following examples are only illustrative.

AE

Would you druther I did something I didn't want to do ? (155:(1019)
I've got an old horse way back yonder (146:8)
...need trees that pert 'near square (45:(17)
I wasn't sure that nothing wasn't gonna come up t'all (35:23)
You're dang tootin'(31:28)

OE

I'd druther for it to have 10 or 12 point (38:8)
...cause that's what they used away back yonder (32:10)
...pert 'near right around here and back here(28:8)
...never went t'all (1:43)

-ly Absence

The class of adverbs marked by -ly in standard varieties may be shifted into the class of adverbs that is not marked by this suffix.

AE

I come from Virginia original__ (96:(26)
It certain was some reason__ (37:(321)

OE

People do it different__ (34:4)
...spotless clean__ (38:2)

Negation

Multiple negation may affect indefinites at several points in relation to the verb. It may occur on indefinites following the verb (e.g. They ain't doing nothing) , indefinites preceding the verb (e.g. Nobody ain't doing it), and a preposed auxiliary with a definite (e.g. Ain't nobody doing it, as a declarative sentence). Both varieties have extensive multiple negation of the first type and occasional instances of the second.

AE

They didn't see no baby, you know, didn't see none nowhere (37:27)
Nobody couldn't handle him (36:(463)
Nobody else won't move in it, I know I ain't (36:18)
Didn't nobody get hurt or nothin' (18:(493)

OE

You couldn't no more of dug that than nothin' in the world (5:32)
You ain't got nary a cow but the one you a-leadin' (1:28)

None of 'em ain't never got out of the state yet (46:10)
Ain't nobody else worked on it.(25:5)

The multiple negation patterns involving pre-verbal copying tend to be less frequent in OE than in AE.

Auxiliary ain't

(H)ain't may be used for various negated auxiliaries including forms of be + not and have + not.

AE

I ain't been 'ere. (49:(24)
...I ain't never believed in 'em (46:(212)
No, it ain't no speed a'tall (47:(38)

OE

They ain't got no post office (28:5)
They ain't gonna give up that easy (28:4)
T'aint no more (28:4)

Nominals

Nominals, including various aspects of pronouns, is another major category in which some of the dialect features of AE and OE are manifested.

Plurals

There are two minor types of differences in the inflectional plural morpheme. The first involves the absence of plural morpheme when the noun refers to weights and measures and is preceded by a quantifier (1). The second pattern regularizes irregular plurals, particularly those that take the same form in the singular and plural in the standard variety (2).

AE

1 ten hundred pound_ of nail (4:(343)
two gallon_ of moonshine (20:(130)
four foot_ through the stump (31:(408)
twenty year_ ago (30:(26)

2 snowmans (121:(250); watermelons(121:(250)
deers (162:(853); firemans(157:(1046); aspirins (138:(214)

1 three mile_ from one (5:7)
290 pound_ during the war (5:31)
three hundred bushel_ of corn (5:17)
52 year_ ago (33:10)

2 sheeps (1:3); deers (1:41)

Pronouns

There are a number of minor adjustments in pronouns that serve to regularize or generalize some of the form classes. These include the regularization of third person reflexives (1) and the extension of object forms to coordinate constructions and demonstratives (2). Demonstratives can also form a compound form with there or here (3). Another pattern involves the addition of -n on possessives when they are in absolute position (at the end of the phrase or clause) (4). Finally, the varieties use plural y'all to regularize the person/number paradigm (e.g. Fonda wants to know if y'all want to help y'all (AE87:(255) in conformity with other southern varieties)

AE

1 A man hung hisself (28:(44)
They doctored them theirself (35:(46)

2 Them boys got killed up there at Morgan (121:(665)
Was that one about them guys? (49:(605)

3 ...this here bonded stuff (85:(117)
...this here one (47:(605)

4 I'ts yourn after you done checked it in (22:22)

OE

1 ...onto it hisself (5:29)
...pray hisself (40A.77)

2 Them old half gentle ones is all done disappeared (41A:51)
I seen a gob of them things (32B:6)

3 ...right through that there bow and arrow (41A:16)
...run them there rings down that stick (5:21)

Personal Datives

Personal datives involve the use of objective pronoun forms when the same pronoun is used twice within a clause, in a way comparable, but not identical, to the for-dative of standard English. It carries a benefactive meaning.

AE

We had us a cabin, built us a log cabin over there (146:18)
...and then you get you a bowl of ice water (146:18)
I'd go out and cut me a limb off of a tree, get me a good straight one (7:21)

OE

He usually finds him a long stick (19:22)
We raised us two other horses (40B:100)
...until I build me a rock wall or something (34:15)

The form is quite current in both AE and OE, but used more frequently in AE.

Relative Pronoun Deletion

The syntactic context for deleting pronouns in embedded clauses is more extensive in AE and OE than in most standard varieties of English, where it is limited to the object functions (e.g. The man I hit was big . It is also generalized to include both object and subject functions here.

AE

I got some kin folk __ lived up there (2:(998)
He's the funny looking guy __ plays baseball (114:(199)
My grandma's got this thing __ tells me about when to plant (16:(191)

OE

A man __ works don't need nothing (40A:66)
There was a lotta people __ lived Pettigrew at that time (41B:40)
It's a little vine thing __ grows up and when you dig it and mash it, it smells like turpentine (5:39)

Expletive they/it

The item they, and, more occasionally it, may be extended to the expletive uses typically reserved for there in standard varieties of English.

AE

They's cooperheads around here (28:26)
They's nothing to keep 'em from turning (30:(151)
King Cobra 'poseta be about the dealiest snake it is (17:(1070)

OE

And they was a hundred of those (28:1)
They's a difference (41A:13)
He said it wasn't nothing to say (41A:3)

The use of expletive they is more frequent in AE than in OE. In AE, younger speakers are shifting to more it usage.

Prepositions

In some instances, preposition differences involve the selection of preposition serving as the axis of the phrase (1); in other cases the pattern involves the absence or presence of a preposition (2). There are also cases where the structure of the phrase is affected (3). Beyond this consideration, each lexical item or phrase must be considered as a separate item.

AE

1 ...get up of the morning (6:(64)
If you plant of the winter, frost'll get it (56:(94)
I got up agin it (47:(90)
2 I lived __ Coal City (85:(248)
back __ them days (31:(287)
The river was right beside of the railroad (157:(500)
3 From nineteen and twenty-five 'till aboout thirty one (11:(91)

OE

1 ...sometimes of the morning (12:1)
...turned up the blanket agin the overjet (28:26)
...seven thirty of the morning (12:1)
2 He lived __ Little Rock (13:25)
Back 'em days (32:7)
I'll be fifty-five___ my birthday (33:3)
3 in nineteen and forty seven (29:16)

Expansive a-

The use of the a- prefix described earlier extends beyond -ing participles. In some cases, the a- may be used as a correspondence to the use of a preposition in other varieties (1). In other cases, it may be used as part of

an alternate representation of a lexical item, typically a restricted set of adverbs or nouns (2). In still other instances, it may be used with participle forms other than -ing, and even main verbs (3). These instances do not seem to be used in a productive syntactic way, functioning more like a phonological filler or coordinate with other a- forms.

AE

1 ...it catches a-fire (40:(216)
It was a-back, right before World War II (21:(332)

2 ...up this a-way (5:(285)
...and it's helped a-many-a people (28:(85)

3 If you hadn't a-done, and been a-goin' and a-walked as much as you had, you'd be just drawed up with rheumatism (85:(456)
After midnight, the day's a-gone (15:(920)
They'd a-boil it (31:(728)
...just a big sheet a-wrapped around 'em (85:(611)

OE

1 We's a-horseback (1A:45)
...and right on a-down across Bill's field (28:15)

2 That's what we used a-way back yonder (32:10)
...not a-one of 'em go ten inches like that (40A:6)
I've started a-many-a stalk (29:4)

3 And they's a-fightin' and he's a-holler close in on the right (28:1)
He just a-quit huntin' (28:9)
That's where it's a-have it right now (26:7)
...you a-gone halfway across the garden

The use of expansive a-, particularly type (3), is more frequent in AE than in OE. Generally, It is used only by older speakers.